The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LVI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1928 NUMBER 726

Contents

The Week 284

Editorials

Hoover: Conservative 287
What the Power Trust Bought 289
Another Reparations "Settlement" 290

General Articles

Why I Am for Smith ..... Felix Frankfurter 292
The South and the Tariff ..... Harry M. Cassidy 295
Sleep to Waking (verse) ..... Léonie Adams 298
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 298
Joy on the Mountains ..... Stark Young 299
The Haunted Castle ..... Malcolm Cowley 300

Correspondence 302

Reviews of Books

Col. House's Post Mortem ..... Robert Morss Lovett 305
Wood-Engraving ..... Ethel Hahn 307
A Factory Master of the Old South ..... Jean Atherton Flexner 307
No Masterpieces ..... T. S. Matthews 308
The Lost Lyrist ..... Elling Aannestad 309
Fiction Notes 309

The Week

THE long secrecy regarding the terms of the Anglo-French naval agreement has at last been broken. France and Great Britain have published simultaneously a "blue book" and a "white paper" giving the correspondence and other pertinent documents. While in some ways the texts are reassuring, showing that part of the fears entertained were groundless, in other particulars there is still good reason for apprehension. It is obviously the purpose of the publication to show that the efforts which produced the naval compromise were undertaken, not only with American knowledge, but actually at the suggestion of Hugh Gibson, American Minister at Brussels, speaking at the close of the Geneva conference of 1927. The two powers do their best, in these memoranda, to suggest that the naval compromise represented only a sincere effort to coöperate in solving the vexed naval question both for themselves and for the other powers; that America was fully informed at all times as to what was going on; and that the failure for so many weeks to publish the terms is without the sinister significance which has been attached to it by practically the whole press of the world. If there is any present entente between Great Britain and France, these documents do not reveal it. They contain no reference to the pooling of the fleets under any circumstances, or to the pursuit of a common policy in European affairs in general. It hardly needs to be added, of course, that if any such entente existed, it would almost certainly not be committed to paper and made public.

THIS is all very well; but one of the most important questions raised by the incident is still unanswered. It is now definitely established that, in exchange for the naval agreement, England accepted the French view that trained reservists are not to be counted as part of the official military strength of any nation. This means that France can rotate through her barracks as many conscripts as she pleases, capable of being turned into soldiers almost literally at a moment's notice, and no one shall say her nay. It destroys all hope of limitation of armies in Europe for an indefinite period to come; it leaves Germany, disarmed under the Treaty of Versailles, face to face with a huge military machine across the Rhine. As the London Daily News says, "for no reason yet intelligible, a bargain was effected whereby, in return for French limitation of ocean-going submarines, France was given a military dictatorship of Europe and military disarmament was swept away at one stroke." The documents just made public fail to say whether or not this agreement has been abrogated in view of the admitted abandonment of the naval compromise, but the London correspondents of American newspapers evidently feel definitely that it has not. If it has been cancelled, the leaders of the British government stand convicted only of appalling stupidity; if it holds, then they have been guilty of a blow at European peace and understanding of the gravest character.

IN THE matter of Dr. Hubert Work and the Salt Creek oil lease, there is no suggestion that the good doctor is guilty of any personal turpitude.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The corruption belongs to his predecessor as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall; and Dr. Work merely renewed a bad lease for another five years. Mr. Fall's Salt Creek contract with Harry Sinclair was made in December, 1922, at about the time of the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills leases, just after Sinclair had made him one gift of $10,000, and just before he received another of $25,000 more. The Salt Creek lease, among other irregularities, contained a secret clause offering Sinclair a renewal at the end of five years for an additional period of the same length. In February of the present year, Dr. Work made this five-year renewal, on terms which, if they had been carried out, would have cost the government an estimated two million dollars on the value of the oil. The renewal did not escape the eye of Senator Walsh of Montana and the other members of the Senate who exposed the oil scandals, and a resolution was introduced at the last session of Congress authorizing an investigation. Meanwhile, the Department of Justice, at the request of President Coolidge, had also started to look into the matter. For six months it seemed unable to come to any decision. Then the New York World began the publication of a series of articles dealing with the Salt Creek lease; and twenty-four hours after the first article appeared, the Attorney General announced his decision that the lease was illegal, and must be cancelled.

DR. WORK insists that he acted on legal advice in renewing the contract, and had no alternative; but this plea is made to look painfully thin by the ease with which the Department of Justice, once it was prodded into action, found flaws justifying cancellation. The incident has caused the Scripps-Howard newspapers, which are supporting Hoover, to demand that he throw Dr. Work overboard; but it has a deeper significance than the bungling of the chairman of the Republican National Committee. It is all of a piece with Mr. Hoover's own failure to comment publicly on the oil scandals of the Harding administration, and the similar attitude of nearly every other important Republican; with the efforts of the Republican National Committee to "get something on" Senators Walsh and Wheeler when their investigations were in progress; and with the complacency of the leading Republican newspapers, most of which expressed their indignation at the rottenness, if at all, tardily and half-heartedly. It is true that Dr. Work was clumsy; but his general attitude was only that which may fairly be called the attitude of the Republican party.

MR. KELLOGG'S general treaty for the renunciation of war has been chiefly notable, up to now, for raising more questions than it answers. By it, war is renounced, but there is no definition of war. The nations pledge themselves to find peaceable means for the settlement of their disputes, but here again there is no exactness of idea. Does "peaceable means" signify compulsory arbitration? And if not, what? These are questions of which much will be heard during December, when the Pan-American Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration is in session in Washington. This conference is an outgrowth of the Pan-American Conference which met at Havana last January, and was suggested at that time partly as a way of postponing some embarrassing questions. In the interval, however, these questions have if anything become more embarrassing than ever. The United States, it will be remembered, has few arbitration treaties with any Latin-American country, and those it has are very half-hearted, hardly any going beyond the standard formula of the Bryan treaties. The American government, like that of Great Britain and all the other strong powers, has always been extremely reluctant to endorse the principle of compulsory arbitration, which is enthusiastically supported only by those nations which are too small and weak to fight. In the interval since Havana, however, Mr. Kellogg has offered the world his treaty which either means the utmost possible degree of conciliation and arbitration, or nothing whatever. The Latin-American powers, it should be noted, are markedly aloof toward the Kellogg treaty. Several of them have indicated that they do not propose to sign unless they know the exact status of the Monroe Doctrine, and have some clear indication that the United States does not propose any longer to use the threat of its military strength with which to enforce its will in the Caribbean. The forthcoming conference will therefore mean something of a showdown as to our intentions. The news from Washington will be worth watching, beginning December 10.

THERE is now no doubt that the Nanking government intends to proceed vigorously and at once to do all it can toward the abolition of extra-territoriality. The report that identic notes had been dispatched to the powers, demanding this, has been officially denied; but a proposed treaty has been submitted to Belgium, Spain, Denmark and Portugal doing away with the consular courts, and it is expected that similar proposals will be made to the other powers in the near future. Such a move was of course not unexpected. A cardinal point in the program of the Chinese for years has been the abolition of the unequal treaties; and it was inevitable that the Nanking government should move in this direction as soon as it felt strong enough to do so. Even if it had no hope of immediate success, it would be obliged to make the gesture for the sake of the effect upon public opinion at home, always strongly anti-foreign and particularly so since the Tsinan incident with Japan. That extra-territoriality will be abandoned eventually is certain; the only question is how soon and how rapidly. Germany and the other nations which have surrendered their special privileges seem on the whole

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

satisfied with the results; but there is certain to be strong opposition among the Japanese, French, Americans, and above all, perhaps, the British, particularly since the surrender of special rights eventually means an end to the foreign concessions at Shanghai and elsewhere. Probably the powers will fall back upon the technical and legal aspects of their position; the commission which was promised under the terms of the agreement at Washington in 1921 reported in 1926 that China has not yet progressed far enough with the reorganization of her judicial procedure to warrant the abolition of the consular courts, and while much has been done on paper since then, little actual change would seem as yet to have taken place.

OFFICIALS of the Electric Bond and Share Company have defied the Federal Trade Commission to make them reveal the facts about propaganda activities in which they have been engaged. Acting on advice of counsel, two officials of the company, summoned to appear, refused to answer questions or to produce the company's books as had been ordered. It will apparently be necessary for the Commission's authority to subpœna witnesses and compel testimony, never before challenged, to be tested in the federal courts. This will take months, if not years, and in the meantime, if other public-utility organizations follow the example of the Electric Bond and Share Company as they are likely to do, the Commission's exceedingly important investigation of propaganda methods must be suspended. Moreover, it has been planning another and still more vital inquiry, into the financial organization of the public utilities. The intention has been to study out the ramifications of ownership, and to see whether there is justification for the charge that the country's utilities are controlled by a small group of corporations and individuals. For any such investigation, the testimony of the Electric Bond and Share Company officials is vital, that being one of the chief holding companies in the field. On legal grounds, there may be some justification for the defiance of the Federal Trade Commission's authority; but in so far as public policy is involved, it can only be supposed that the public-utility men are ashamed of what they have been doing, and have taken this desperate step to keep it concealed.

IT WILL be remembered that, at the time when the electric power interests mustered all their forces against the Walsh resolution for a senatorial investigation of the holding companies, they advocated the Federal Trade Commission as a substitute investigator, not on the ground that they didn't want to be investigated, but on the ground that the Trade Commission would do a better job, because it was expert and "non-political." Now the Electric Bond and Share Company proceeds to take legal action to delay and hamper the Trade Commission in doing that job. Such defiance of a Senate committee would have been highly dangerous, if not impossible. We trust that those Senators and others who were misled by the plea for a "non-political" investigation will, if the effort of the Electric Bond and Share Company succeeds, act promptly at the next session of Congress to revive the Walsh resolution and conduct an investigation which the utilities will find it more difficult to evade.

WHILE Mr. Hoover is so nobly insisting that, in accordance with American tradition, the government must not "enter into competition with its citizens," he might give some attention to the problem created by influential and powerful citizens taking over the functions of the government. When praising the Coolidge policies, what has he to say about the presence in the Cabinet, as Secretary of the Interior, of Roy O. West, a private utilities' agent? What has he to say of Mr. West's ex-officio membership in the Federal Power Commission, which has to pass upon franchises in which companies with which Mr. West has been affiliated are vitally interested? Private interference with public business, in this as in the many instances which have preceded it during the Harding and Coolidge administrations, has elicited not a single word of concern from Mr. Hoover. Is this, in his mind, merely a justifiable expression of "individual liberty" and "private initiative"? What does he think of the choice of Mr. Machold, utilities' man, to manage the Republican campaign in New York State? Though Mr. Hoover probably believes that questions of this kind are hostile and irrelevant attempts to annoy him, we believe that they are as pertinent as any issue in the campaign, for they are indicative of the specific nature of the association between business and government which the Republican party evidently conceives to be proper.

THE answer by Secretary Mellon to Governor Smith's charges that the Republican administration has attempted to give a false impression of the magnitude and usefulness of its economies is praiseworthy because it is the first instance in the campaign in which a leading figure on the Republican side has deigned to notice and reply to a specific argument made by the Democratic candidate. The upshot is that the Republicans admit that the cost of government has risen since 1924. Secretary Mellon cites a smaller figure of increase than Governor Smith's because he omits the expenditures of the Post Office Department, which is chiefly sustained by the charges made for its services. But, in principle, there is little difference between expenditures for postal service, met (but not wholly met) by the sale of stamps, etc., and expenditures for, let us say, roads, met out of taxation. As the government enlarges its services, it must and does spend more—this is the gist of Governor Smith's argument. And, in our opinion, he is abundantly justified in stating that, while the government has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made petty and unimportant economies, it has in many instances been penny-wise and pound-foolish, and has failed to understand the systematic reorganization of governmental departments and accounts which would mean real economy.

THE state legislature of Minnesota in 1925 passed a law providing that the courts may enjoin as a nuisance "any obscene, lewd and lascivious newspaper, magazine and other periodical, or a malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper, magazine or other periodical." This is dangerously broad language, and it is not surprising that under it cases should arise which involve a genuine and serious curtailment of the freedom of the press. The Saturday Press, a Minneapolis weekly, was founded for the purpose, according to its editors, of exposing the extent of gambling in that city. The police promptly took exception to this—a development which will not surprise those who know the relation of the police to gambling in most American cities nowadays—and action was begun against the paper under the law quoted above. A temporary injunction was issued, and this has lately been made permanent, the editors having declined to offer evidence supporting the truth of the material they published and having insisted that the law itself is unconstitutional. The Minnesota Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the statute, and the case is now to be taken to the United States Supreme Court. The importance of the issue can hardly be overestimated; if the law is upheld, any state can pass a law virtually forbidding public criticism of faithless, corrupt public officials, or of any of their friends.

IN the hurly burly of a national campaign, as everyone knows, political news swamps everything else. Hardly anybody was aware that a pugilist named Tunney got married; the facts that a dirigible came from Berlin to the United States, and that prohibition claimed thirty-odd week-end poison-liquor victims in New York City, were practically ignored. So, of course, was the World Series. This is a hardy annual of the news crop, with no more shock of surprise in it than the reddening of autumn leaves. Yet for four days it overshadowed all other first-page stuff in late editions of our afternoon dailies, and more than held its own in the morning press. When the baseball trophy was awarded, the staid New York Times said, at the top of the first column on its first page:

> Establishing records that will live as long as the game itself, scaling a baseball Matterhorn where no other foot had ever trod before, the Yankees made it four in a row over the Cardinals today, 7 to 3, as Babe Ruth, for the second time in his incredible career, hit three homers in one world's series game.

And so on for columns. Contrast this with the cool mockery of the World: "You can embarrass any St. Louisan tonight simply by mentioning baseball. The Mound City is thinking of going in for knitting contests and marble tournaments." Yet this paper, as well as the other eight-column dailies in New York, almost without exception, devoted two entire inside pages to text, pictures, boxes and exclamation points about a paid, professional business venture.

RADIO," says Karl Bickel of the United Press, "has cut out to a large extent the old extra, which was never a revenue producer, and is forcing the newspapers to publish more intelligent and interpretive reports than ever before." Alas, the World Series stories do not bear him out. More intelligent? Why, all the experts shot wide of the mark when they tried to forecast the outcome. More interpretive? Mere hysterical adjectives interpret nothing. But we venture to believe that Mr. Bickel, one of the most far-seeing executives in American newspaper life, is not so far wrong after all. At present the press is so alarmed at radio's rivalry that it is not quite itself. The time cannot be far distant when it will cease to compete in cold ink with the simulated excitement of Graham McNamee's vibrant voice.

Hoover: Conservative

HERBERT HOOVER'S speech in Madison Square Garden seems to us the first in his campaign which is in any degree worthy of the man's reputation. It does not consist chiefly of evasive and non-contentious generalities. It really discusses, if not concrete issues, at least policy. Though attacking his opponent as an advocate of "state socialism," it does not descend to the cruder devices of waving the red flag and arousing fright by calling names, but gives a reasoned and, we believe, a deeply felt defense of the candidate's conservatism in regard to the relation between government and business. If the Republican campaign had been conducted on this level from the beginning, we might have had a really significant debate which would have distracted attention from the religious and social prejudices which have marred it.

Sincere and solid as the speech is, it reveals as never before the bent of Mr. Hoover's mind when he approaches contentious economic and social problems. Mr. Smith sees the problems in question—water power, farm relief and prohibition—as concrete difficulties to be solved in detail. He analyzes the causes of the trouble. He proposes specific remedies. He challenges his opponent to disprove his analysis or point out where his remedies may be ineffective. That the remedies proposed happen to involve governmental action is of little significance to Mr. Smith one way or another. He does not refer them to a body of general principles concern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the nature of government and business. He wants the problems solved, and he proceeds to what appear the simplest and most effective methods of solution. This is the technique of the engineer. Mr. Hoover, on the contrary, withdraws from any concrete analysis of the problems in hand, or any proposal of remedies. He sees all three solutions proposed by his opponent, not as devices which are or are not well adapted to their purposes, but as items in a general tendency which he thinks dangerous. He regards as the "fundamental contribution" of the Republican party, "a contribution underlying and sustaining all the others," the negative policy of resistance "to every attempt to inject the government into business in competition with its citizens." Because of this he rejects the Smith proposals without examination. This is the method of the political philosopher—and of the type of political philosopher, it must be added, who derives his inspiration and his principles from eighteenth-century doctrines. It is as far from the attitude of modern science and engineering as could well be imagined.

Mr. Hoover, moreover, has a romantic conception of America, which he urges as the justification of governmental abstention. Our social system, he believes, is essentially different from any other in the world—different and immensely superior. It is a system of self-government founded on "decentralized local responsibility." Every individual has "ordered liberty" and "equal opportunity." This system is responsible for our great advances in wealth: our tremendous accesses of automobiles, radios, savings deposits, recreation facilities. But to install the government in business would lead to centralized authority, to suppression of criticism, to the end of freedom of speech and other liberties. It would replace the flexible and efficient initiative of the individual with cumbersome and deadening bureaucracy. It would endanger the national character and the national wealth. Worst of all, it would be "European"—a heartfelt condemnation which we urge upon the attention of those who have praised Mr. Hoover for his cosmopolitan outlook.

All this is a pretty exercise of the imagination, but let us test it by the sort of examination of the facts which a realistic engineer would have to make in order to see how his principle could be applied to the problem in hand. Do we have, in the power utility industry, "decentralized local responsibility," and "equal opportunity"? On the contrary, we know that nearly every electric utility operating company has been granted, for reasons of efficiency and public convenience, a complete monopoly in its territory. We know that there are many and growing physical interconnections among these companies, so that power is shipped over wide distances. We know that through a complex structure of mergers and holding companies the control of electric power has reached a high degree of centralization on a national scale. We know that, for the purpose of protecting the profits of these gigantic systems, made out of rates which are so unnecessarily high as to discourage the full use of many household devices of convenience and comfort, the utilities have actively perverted free speech and discussion to their own ends by secretly engaged propagandists, and have attempted to stifle criticism. And any consumer who has attempted to deal with these gigantic concerns has had a first-hand experience with impersonal bureaucracy. This is far from the romantic picture in Mr. Hoover's mind.

Governor Smith proposes that the government, in protection of property already its own, and in the interest of the helpless individual consumer, operate certain great hydro-electric plants, and sell the current to the distributing companies under contracts which would limit the retail prices and guarantee fair distribution. This is the horrible "government competition with its citizens" which Mr. Hoover believes it vital to resist. And Mr. Smith proposes to set up, as agencies for such operation, not political bureaucracies, but corporations with business management. The only difference between such corporations and ordinary utility corporations is that their stock would be owned by all the citizens through the government, and controlled in the interest of service, instead of being owned by some of the citizens and controlled in the interest of the profit of the promoters.

Was the natural private monopoly of electric power foreseen by the eighteenth-century idealists who talked of individual freedom and governmental non-intervention? Thomas Jefferson himself would probably be the first to declare that Mr. Hoover's application of these principles to the modern electric complex is as archaic as it would be to try to harvest the grain on a thousand-acre farm with a scythe. Maintenance of anything like equal opportunity for the ordinary citizen requires an effective curb on the private utilities.

Mr. Hoover himself recognizes, in a later section, that public regulation of monopolies is an accepted and necessary institution. But he has stubbornly refused to admit the inadequacy of regulation, as at present practised by state commissions upon national utilities, and hampered by court decisions on the abstruse questions of valuation.

Likewise, in the task of stabilizing farm prices, he apparently does not see that nothing effective can be done unless competitive marketing is abandoned for centralized marketing, and that centralized marketing cannot be achieved unless the coöperative societies formed for that purpose have the assistance and power of the government behind their activities. Individualism in farm marketing, as contrasted with centralization and organization in industry, is what has given rise to the whole issue.

If we apply Mr. Hoover's formula to prohibition, it cannot be anything but ridiculous. What centralized interference with local authority and in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dividual liberty could be more drastic than the national prohibition law? What more vulnerable bureaucracy could be imagined than that set up to enforce it? And if states are to be allowed to sell intoxicating liquors, with what private business will they compete? The only possible meaning of the Republican candidate's formula in this instance is that it would be a dangerous interference with the private initiative which has made our nation great and prosperous, if the states were to compete with bootleggers and speakeasies.

It has been mentioned as one of Governor Smith's possible weaknesses as a President that he is not moved by any system of general principles. He attacks social problems piecemeal and in detail. Yet, as it turns out in contrast with Mr. Hoover's use of general principles, this is perhaps Mr. Smith's greatest strength. He looks at the facts. He learns from his and the common experience. His mind is not obfuscated with antique formulations of principle which are ill-suited to the necessities of twentieth-century civilization. Because of this, he is not afraid to use the true engineering technique upon the tasks which immediately engage him. And, equally because of this, he does not commit the mistake of extending the remedies which he favors in these instances into a general principle of socialism. Emphatically he is not engaged in the project of extending government competition with private business as rapidly as possible and in all directions. If we are to have socialism by the Smith route, we shall have it by the logic of necessity, not by the argument of dogma.

Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, has been praised because he is supposed to understand modern civilization and to be capable of applying to it the engineering intelligence of the "trained mind." This is exactly what, as this speech amply demonstrates, he cannot do in the case of problems such as these. He is inhibited by a philosophy out of books, which, though ill-digested and not assimilated to the needs of the United States in 1928, has been seized upon as a defense by the big-business interests who want to preserve the swollen privileges of their own individualism against the restricted opportunity of the consumer and the worker. Mr. Hoover is just stupid enough not to see that his idealism is, in practice, their best shield and weapon. The balm of the words he uses makes him believe that they are, in some magic way, responsible for all the glories of our civilization. It renders him hesitant to admit the full importance of the failures among our economic institutions. And it leads him to resort, when he is forced to mention these failures, to an easy optimism that everything will be improved if left to private initiative, rather than to a hard-headed engineering study of the difficulty.

Conservatives have every right to be pleased by the sincere and moving expression which Mr. Hoover has given to the principles they profess. But progressives who share any of the New Republic's understanding of that word ought to be finally convinced by the New York speech that Mr. Hoover is one of their worst, because one of their noblest, enemies.

What the Power Trust Bought

THE MOST surprising and thought-provoking episode which has yet been turned up by the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the power trust is that involving E. Hofer and Sons, of Salem, Oregon. This organization has been engaged in the business of furnishing propaganda to the daily and weekly newspapers of the United States. In recent years, it has been paid at least $168,000 annually for doing this, about one-half of the sum coming from the public-utility organizations and the rest from other large corporations whose viewpoint is similar. In addition, an unnamed sum has been received from the newspapers themselves. Though the impression was given at the Washington hearing that the bulletins of the "Industrial News Bureau" were distributed without charge, in fact the firm offered its services in exchange for an annual subscription, or for two dollars a year in cash, and presumably some of the 14,000 dailies and weeklies on its mailing list chose the latter offer.

The scheme of operation was simplicity itself. The Hofers collected items regarding industrial developments in each of the forty-eight states, wrote these out in the form of news stories and redistributed them to the papers of the state or states which would be interested. In addition, they circulated on a nation-wide scale articles of general interest. Most important of all, they prepared editorials on the subjects nearest the hearts of those who put up the money, and furnished these to the papers, which published them as though they were the original product of the editor's pen. All this material, of every sort, was offered without any indication that it was propaganda paid for by the industrialists, and it was, of course, printed in the same way. Neither the editors nor their readers were aware that the Hofers received at least $168,000 a year for sending out material attacking government and municipal ownership, criticizing labor unions, deriding "radical programs" for farm relief, and the like. There is no record that any editor even inquired how it was possible for the Hofers to send out so much material for two dollars a year or for an exchange subscription.

How successful they were in getting their propaganda printed is disclosed by the facts revealed before the Federal Trade Commission. Mr. B. M. Hofer, who testified, was a reluctant witness and not likely to overstate the achievements of his organization. Yet he admitted that last year its material was published to the extent of *three million column inches*. This is more than 20,000 solid news-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paper pages, or about 140,000,000 words. More than 800 articles were sent out to 14,000 editors, and it is safe to say that, in some cases, even when the material was not used it made an impression on the editorial mind and was reflected indirectly in the columns of the papers.

The $84,000 which has been, and apparently is still, being paid annually by the public-utility interests does not come from obscure corporations in that field but from the leaders. The present basis was arranged five years ago, at a meeting held in the New York apartment of the late C. A. Coffin, who was Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company. Others present, Mr. Hofer says, were P. H. Gadsden, Vice-President of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, S. Z. Mitchell, President, and three other officials of the Electric Bond and Share Company —the same organization which last week defied the Federal Trade Commission in connection with the present inquiry, refusing to open its books or permit its officers to testify. The payments to the Hofers did not come exclusively from these corporations, however. The list of companies includes the Adirondack Power and Light Company, Schenectady; Associated Gas and Electric Company, New York; Buffalo General Electric Company; Commonwealth Power Corporation, New York; General Gas and Electric Company, New York; Long Island Lighting Company, New York; Niagara Falls Power Company, Niagara Falls; New York Edison Company, Consolidated Gas Company, United Electric Light and Power Company, North American Company, New York; Penn-Ohio Edison Company, New York; Rochester Gas and Electric Corporation, Rockland Electric Company, Nyack, N. Y.; Rockland Light and Power Company, Nyack, N. Y.; Brooklyn Edison Company, Atlantic City Electric Company, and the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, Newark.

To the student of social phenomena, there are two aspects of this situation which are of especial interest. The first is the fact that the public-utility corporations, conducted by presumably hard-headed business men, should think it worth their while to spend more than $80,000 a year on such an enterprise, in addition to all the other sums they have been pouring out for propaganda of one sort and another. What did they think the Hofers had to sell that was worth so much money? Did they get value received, and if so, how? If they did not, they have revealed themselves as grossly incompetent and their stockholders should have something to say about it. To be sure, the money did not come out of either their own or the stockholders' pockets, but from those of their customers; it was included in the overhead expense of operation, on a basis of which rates are fixed. Even so, the expenditure is not one to be undertaken lightly. That it should go on year after year suggests strongly that the public utilities must have a bad conscience in regard to the service they render and the payment they receive for it.

Still more important is the revelation which comes from this incident as to the attitude of the editors. Here are 14,000 men who control the small country dailies and weeklies of the country, and whose relationship to their subscribers is a peculiarly close and intimate one. There is a theory that such journals are read only for their chronicles of neighborhood happenings, and that for political opinion the reader turns to the metropolitan newspaper published in the nearest large city; but that theory is false, as everyone who has lived long in a small town is well aware. There are thousands of homes into which no other paper comes but the little local daily or weekly; and even when this is not true, the editor occupies an important position in his community, and particularly nowadays when his prosperity is so much greater than it was once. Among the 14,000 editors there are, of course, some who did not print the Hofer material; but there must also be very many who did print it, to roll up a total of 140,000,000 words published in the course of a single year—an average of about ten columns for every paper. To any trained newspaper man, propaganda of this sort is distinguishable at a glance, even if the circumstances of its origin were not suspicious, as they certainly were in this case. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable that a large number of editors are either appallingly incompetent, or are entirely willing to print, and assume full editorial responsibility for, what they know to be propaganda from some interested source, even though they are not aware what that source may be. Under such circumstances, the moral responsibility of the press for community leadership becomes a very grim joke.

Another Reparations "Settlement"

THE CONFERENCE of the Allied governments meeting in Paris to prepare the way for a committee of experts who are to revise the Dawes Plan has apparently arrived at a neat solution of their dilemma—for the time being.

This is the year when the payment of German reparations reach their "normal" or maximum figure. Virtually all economic authorities agree that this figure is impossibly or ruinously high. Payments are now being made upon schedule, to be sure, but only because American capitalists, chiefly, are continuing to lend to German concerns and public authorities enough money so that the transfers may be made without depressing the exchange value of the mark. Germany has no export surplus, nor is she likely to build up one large enough so that, if the present stream of capital entering her borders should be greatly diminished, she could make her cash payments. With this constant threat

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the economic stability, not only of German exchange, but of the French and other budgets depending on German payments, the future is uncertain. The question must be settled before a crash occurs.

It is almost as much in the interest of American finance and trade that a settlement be made as it is in the interest of Europe. We should have been willing to participate officially in the conference leading to a settlement if it had not been for the insistence of France and Great Britain that the reparations question and the question of debts owed us by the Allies are tied together and must be considered jointly. Our administration is correct, we believe, in holding that, ethically, the two obligations have nothing in common. But it has been wrong in stubbornly insisting that the debt settlements are moderate and cannot be revised downward. The statements of the Republican platform and candidate to this effect, and Mr. Hoover's known strong prejudice against reducing the Allied obligations are, in our opinion, among his chief liabilities in the field in which many suppose him to be strongest—a conciliatory and able foreign policy. Nevertheless, they are facts which the European cabinets cannot ignore. Europe's dilemma is, that she must revise the reparation payments downward, that she must abide by often repeated statements that these payments should cover what the Allies pay to us, and yet that she must not expect the United States at this time to countenance debt reduction in order that reparations may be reduced.

The nature of this dilemma is probably what caused the abandonment of the long discussed plan to sell the German railroad and industrial bonds (arranged for by the Dawes Plan), chiefly to American investors, to use the proceeds for the German reparation debt in one grand cash payment to the Allies, and to allow them to liquidate their obligations to us in the same way. A settlement of this kind would be practicable—to say nothing of its desirability—only if the resulting charges, for interest and amortization on the German bonds, were not too large for Germany to bear and to transfer. But, as has been pointed out in our pages by numerous authorities, the charges must be too large if they are to equal anything like the sum specified in the Dawes Plan. If the principal were not reduced, there would be no advantage in converting reparation payments into bond interest. The intimations are plain in the despatches that the great bankers in America who would have to participate in underwriting such an issue have been consulted and have wisely declined to make the venture.

Annual payments on reparation account from the German government must therefore continue. But there is a way of making them smaller without seeming to forgo the total amount to which the recipients believe themselves entitled. This is to lengthen indefinitely the term of years during which they are to be paid. Jugglers with figures can make instalments of almost any size accomplish the ultimate payment of almost any theoretical sum, provided the instalments continue long enough and the theoretical rate of interest is set at the proper figure. We are familiar with this type of juggling in the debt "settlements" between the several Allies and the United States.

We are, therefore, likely to be presented with a new reparations agreement, in which the annual instalments will be reduced to something like two-thirds of their present figure, but still are large enough to cover the annual payments of the Allies to the United States. These instalments, according to the agreement, will be supposed to run for an absurdly long term of years. In this respect they will copy the most unsound and the worst features of the Allied debt agreements with the United States, upon which the administration and Mr. Hoover so stubbornly stand. There will be no genuine and final settlement of the total amount ultimately due, in spite of the statement of Reparations Agent S. Parker Gilbert and others that such a settlement is necessary for economic stability. France will then ratify the Mellon-Berenger agreement.

From this time on, the United States will be presented with the accomplished fact of an agreement on reparations which parallels in every respect the agreements on debts. If Germany becomes resentful in the next half-century over her long financial bondage, the Allies will point out to her that the bondage is also theirs. If, in the course of time, common sense and self-interest suggest to Americans that a shorter term should be set to reparations (and thus that the total be theoretically reduced), exactly the same logic must be applied to Allied debts. If it is deemed wise to fix a smaller total of reparations for cash payment through a bond issue of possible size, the same procedure will seem advisable in regard to the debts. The United States will not be forced to recognize any moral connection between the two obligations, but she will be increasingly obliged to recognize the economic and political realities which apply equally to both.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1928, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 421 WEST 21ST STREET, NEW YORK
HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY BRUCE BLIVEN GEORGE SOULE
EDMUND WILSON STARK YOUNG R. M. LOVETT

ASSISTANT EDITOR: T. S. MATTHEWS

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JANE ADDAMS JOHN DEWEY WALDO FRANK
ALVIN JOHNSON E. C. LINDEMAN ROBERT LITTELL
LEWIS MUMFORD GILBERT SELDES R. G. TUGWELL
LEO WOLMAN ELINOR WYLIE

RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why I Am for Smith

IT IS midnight, Tuesday, November 6, and the next day's papers must go to press with the election undecided. Not until the early afternoon of Wednesday is the uncertainty lifted and Smith's electoral majority decisively established, though by the narrowest of margins. The commentators upon the result in Thursday's papers have thus had more than the usual time allowed journalists for reflection upon the meaning of events. What interpretation will the American correspondents of important European dailies place upon so lively a change in public feeling, compared with the vote in 1924, as is implied by the election of Governor Smith? How are the observers for the London Times and the Manchester Guardian likely to explain to English readers Governor Smith's victory and Mr. Hoover's defeat? They will doubtless discern confused and conflicting impulses registered in the result, the play of obscure currents and cross-currents, the operation of many minor and local causes expressed in the nation's choice. But, surely, analysis of the deeper influences in the election of Governor Smith will run somewhat along these lines:

First and foremost, Governor Smith's election implies an unequivocal rejection of any sectarian allegiance as a disqualification for the presidency. Inasmuch as the issue had been so decisively raised, Smith's election is vindication of the principle that fitness to rule over the United States is determined by relevant qualities of character and ability and experience. Proof was required that the presidency is a function of no creed. The appeal to Methodists will not soon again be resorted to by a high official of the government and of the Republican party; the appeal to Presbyterians by their Moderator "to vote and pray" for the Republican candidate will not be imitated by his successor in the reasonable future. Even more important, were such sectarianism again to raise its head, future candidates for the presidency would quickly and effectively combat such divisive forces in our national life as one of the most urgent duties of statesmanship. Hereafter, belated, formal, and abstract disavowals of intolerance would not be deemed sufficient resistance to the exploitation of religious loyalties and sectarian passions in the interest of one seeking the office which symbolizes the good will and the common aspirations of the nation.

By the persuasiveness of a living personality in the White House, Alfred E. Smith will help to soften and displace the pernicious abstractions of religious fanaticism. Adapted to the spiritual ills and disorders of our own day, he will, as truly as Lincoln did in his, help to bind up the wounds of the nation. Whole sections of the United States are at present the prey of religious strife. The dominant political issue in those sections, and a powerful influence everywhere, was Governor Smith's Catholicism; not the specific claim that his Catholicism would improperly affect his Mexican policy or his labor policy or his farm policy, but his Catholicism as such. It will greatly strengthen America as a fellowship and promote our inner security to have in the White House a Catholic like Alfred E. Smith. Our politics will regain its rightful function as the pursuit of those ideals and traditions which have always blended a country of diverse races and religions into a single people. Sectarianism will again confine itself to the awful problems of the ways of God to man.

Second. Governor Smith's election is a rejection of a recurring attempt in the United States to attach false values to social distinction. It cannot be too often repeated that the President is much more significant as a symbol, as an educational influence upon the feelings and ideals of our people, particularly of youth, than as a promoter of this or that economic policy. He is the most powerful teacher in the country. What he says, what he does, what he is, reaches the eyes and the ears and touches the imagination beyond the influence of any other person. Governor Smith again proves the social fluidity of America, its vitality and spiritual freshness, precisely because we have a tradition against social stratification. A marshal's baton in every private's knapsack may be a romantic ideal, but of such ideals are great armies and great nations made. In essence, it embodies a profound ethical truth: respect for the intrinsic qualities of a human being and rejection of the snobbish accentuation of surface conventions and surface refinements that are so largely the product of early material opportunities. Jackson and Lincoln with their own ill-mannered and "unrefined" characteristics gave meaning to Emerson's proud boast that America means opportunity—opportunity for fruition of character and of talent not always appearing in the habiliments of sedate taste and drawing-room restraint.

In a country without traditional aristocracies, social distinctions are largely dependent upon differences in wealth. Especially in a democracy must we resist the subtle danger of stereotyping social distinction into political significance. To do so is a rank betrayal of the democratic principle. Here again, Alfred E. Smith will serve as a symbol. The lowliness of his origin, his lack of cultural opportunities, and his esthetic limitations will fall into their proper places in the perspective of his whole

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

personality. More and more it will become manifest that his character is an achievement and not a gift of circumstances. His election is thus a stimulus to honorable and brave and truthful living, despite the pressure of an environment which leads other men to yield to easy acquiescence, petty compromise and ignoble self-pursuit.

Third. Smith's election registers a profound conviction that it is the essence of every experiment in government, even of a "noble experiment," to be freely tested by its results and not to be erected into a religious dogma entrusted to the zealous keeping of the Church. A social policy the adoption of which was opposed by two Presidents of the United States because fraught with public disaster cannot be immune from reconsideration. That prohibition has been a potent ally of crime and a promoter of the most widespread political corruption is evidenced by judicial records throughout the country. The corrosive influences of prohibition are as widespread in the home state of Secretary Mellon, who has charge of prohibition enforcement, and in the District of Columbia, governed by President Coolidge's appointees, as in the New York of Governor Smith. Former Senator Wadsworth justly pointed out that the Republican party is committed not to prohibition, but to "law enforcement," and law enforcement is merely public lip-service to a dogma flagrantly violated in practice. To what extent the feeling for all law is attenuated by nation-wide disregard of one law no man can measure. That the integrity of American social life is tarnished and confused by the permeating hypocrisies due to prohibition only fanatics will deny.

Governor Smith's election is not a ratification of his specific program for relief. The Eighteenth Amendment has enmeshed the country in difficulties from which it cannot quickly or easily be disentangled. Measures for reform will have to be achieved slowly and experimentally. But Smith's election is a mandate for inquiry, for courageous and candid reëxamination into ways and means to work ourselves out of the morass of corruption and crime. It is a rejection of prohibition as a shirt of Nessus. Guided by the tests of social utility, of workability under a federal system spanning a continent, the United States will not be wanting in legal and administrative resources to bring law into conformity with truth and with the diverse needs of a hundred and ten millions of people. A great social problem will thus be dealt with empirically, not dogmatically. The practice of true experimentation in government will be furthered and candor and honesty in public life promoted.

Fourth. The election of Smith is a recognition that government is itself an art, one of the subtlest of arts. Government is neither business nor technology, but the art of making men live together in peace with reasonable happiness. Among the instruments for governing are business organization, technological skill and scientific methods. But they are all instruments and not ends. And that is why the art of effective governing is most successfully achieved by men to whom governing is itself a profession. One of the shallowest disdains is the sneer against the "professional politician." The invidious implication of the phrase is, of course, against those who pursue self-interest through politics. But too prevalently the baby is thrown out with the bath. It is forgotten that the most successful statesmen have been professionals. Pitt, Gladstone, Disraeli, Asquith and Lloyd George were professional politicians. Beveridge's new life of Lincoln is a reminder that Lincoln was a professional politician. Politics was Roosevelt's profession, Wilson was all his life at least preoccupied with politics, and Calvin Coolidge, though nominally a lawyer, has had no profession except politics. Canada emphasizes the professionalism of politics by making the Leader of the Opposition a paid officer of state.

In a democracy, politics is a process of popular education—the task of adjusting the conflicting interests of diverse groups in the community, and bending the hostility and suspicion and ignorance engendered by group interest to the reconciliation of a common interest and a common understanding. In this sense Governor Smith is a master of politics. He had proved himself a most successful political educator. In an office second only to that of the presidency for the complexity of its problems, and in a state with a population as diversified as that of the United States, Governor Smith not only brought the instruments of government into practical conformity with the standards of political science, but employed those instruments for the achievement of great social ends. The clue to his record in New York lies in his extraordinary talent for accomplishing great reforms not merely *with* popular assent, but *because* he is able to awaken popular interest in his aims and to enlist popular understanding of the technical means by which alone social policies can be realized. In the language of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he "made the people of the state of New York think." The reorganization of the government of New York, the executive budget, scientific standards of administration, were not original ideas with Governor Smith. What was original was his passionate belief in such reforms as a program of "practical politics," joined with a power of presentation and persuasion to win the indifferent and the hostile to such reforms. No man in public life today so deeply relies upon the expert for achieving reforms, and upon an aroused public interest which alone can give the expert his opportunity. This combination of qualities is indispensable for the adjustment through government of the conflicting economic interests among different sections and different classes in the country.

Governor Smith has revealed these qualities to an extent unique among public men of today, while

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Hoover has given not the slightest evidence that he feels politics as an educational process. Mr. Hoover's important accomplishments have been in times of flood, famine and war, when the coercive powers of great emergencies were on his side. The presidency is a day-by-day and a give-and-take task. It requires not command, but genial persuasion, not the mining engineer's blue-prints of what can be weighed and measured, but the deft imagination of the social engineer whose instruments and materials are the imponderables. Mr. Hoover's refusal in the campaign to deal with the pressing problems of the future was partly the strategy of evasion, the strategy of relying on inertia. But it was a strategy congenial to a temperament which has no confidence in appeals to the public. He distrusts democratic processes and believes that the well-being of society depends on the direction of the few in key places.

Fifth. Governor Smith's election will give decided momentum to the liberalizing tendencies in American social economy. Happily, Smith has no set, doctrinaire "principles," but possesses a mind free for new experience and responsive to its directions. During his long tenure of political leadership in Albany, he has achieved great things for liberal causes. Above all, he has proved that his temperament and the bent of his mind compel him to the ways of liberalism. He has done very much to improve labor and social economic conditions, particularly for women; under the fiercest tests, he has shown a deep understanding of political liberty; he has infused his government with human sympathy which transcends even tolerance. His mind is fertilized by the concrete event. The impact of specific problems of government leads him to full inquiry, and freedom from obstinate prepossessions, like Mr. Hoover's passionate fear of government ownership, enables him to go wherever understanding and democratic sympathies may require. This has been true during his eight years as Governor in securing the adoption of a state park system, in the promotion of social legislation, in advancing public education, in a comprehensive grappling with grade-crossing evils, in the protection of the power resources of the state from selfish exploitation. The so-called economic questions of the future are only in part economic. Largely they involve a redistribution of responsibility and power; a more effective share by labor and agriculture in the nation's councils. The emphasis of Mr. Hoover's whole thought is the assumption that increasing industrial efficiency and the mass production of things automatically make for well-being and promote the spiritual quality of life. If Mr. Hoover realizes the moral issues which "prosperity" intensifies and creates and is concerned with their solution, he has not shared his insight with the public. It has been left for a distinguished English engineer, Sir Alfred Ewing, to admonish us that the industrial inventions of engineers have themselves given rise to the perplexities of modern statesmanship:

> But can we expect the engineers of the coming century to bring about developments in the application of natural resources comparable to those of the past hundred years? I am, as I said, no prophet, but I doubt it. To me it seems more likely that there will be something of a lull in the revolutionary fervor of the engineer. Social changes—drastic social changes—may be looked for, but not, I think, so directly consequent on his activities as in the century now ending.
>
> It may very well happen that the mental energy of mankind now flowing so strongly in this channel of ours will seek and find outlets in other directions. While as engineers we may regret such an issue, we cannot but admit that it may prove beneficial to the human race, since beyond question there is grave need for progress of quite a different kind.

Sixth. The failure to continue a party in power is a judgment upon its past performances. The election of Governor Smith is a recognition that the sanitation of American politics requires a stern reminder of party responsibility for the most extensive scandals in the history of the national government. If the Republican party is to have credit, as Mr. Hoover would have it, for the lilies in the field and the radios in the home, it must bear blame for the dereliction of its high officials, for the corrupt party management of its chairman, and, above all, for the moral torpor of the leaders of the party in face of the corruption of their associates. Mr. Hoover's complete personal freedom from corruption is irrelevant. He was himself a member of the administration which is tainted with corruption. His failure to dissociate himself explicitly and concretely only emphasizes party responsibility for misdeeds of colleagues, and sheds important light on his courage and independence when party associates are involved. That men like Bascom Slemp and Rush Holland and George Lockwood were high in the councils of his campaign challenged the country's judgment not merely upon Mr. Hoover's personal qualities, but upon the Republican party which Mr. Hoover sponsored. Governor Smith's election gives vitality to party politics by sending into the wilderness a party with so corrupt a record as that of the Republican party since 1921.

Seventh. The election of Governor Smith proves a shrewd unwillingness by the American people to be misled by the parrot cry of "Tammany." Only ignorance or hypocrisy can find Tammany more sinister than the corrupt political machines throughout the country. In the city of New York it is a Democratic machine, in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati, the corrupt machines are Republican. The argument of "Tammany" is relevant only if thereby is implied that Governor Smith has shown the slightest predilection toward corrupt or self-regarding motives in public office. By his governorship he must be judged. Those are eight years of maturity and responsibility.

No man's record in politics has ever been placed under a more powerful microscope. His op-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ponents for Governor have been men of vigor and unlimited resources, who would have discovered evidence of wrong-doing or of personal or partisan exploitation of office were discovery possible. Instead, Governor Smith, to a degree unrivalled in the history of the state of New York, has received the praise of the most eminent members of the opposition party. His record is a triumph of character just because he was so long exposed to the temptations of a crude and sordid environment. For the world of politics, Emerson's well known words find illustration in Al Smith: "It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude."

Eighth. Foreign affairs affected the election little, but the result may greatly affect foreign affairs. In preferring Governor Smith over Mr. Hoover, those for whom foreign affairs were important were not confused by the red herring of Mr. Hoover's foreign experience. To be sure, Mr. Hoover is much traveled and knows about countries other than his own. But knowledge of foreign countries is far from being a guaranty of wisdom about their peoples, still less of a broad outlook on foreign relations. That foreign travel and foreign cultivation do not necessarily dislodge excessive nationalism is amply proved by such anti-Europeans in the United States Senate as Lodge, McCormick and Moses. The feeding of Belgians during the War and of Russians later is no index whatever to Mr. Hoover's attitude toward disarmament, nor ground for confidence in his generous coöperation with Europe. Charity is one thing. The imagination that sees the world in terms of a common brotherhood is quite a different thing. The conduct of foreign relations does not require technical equipment or foreign cultivation. It was the cultivated Seward who tried to push us into war with England, and the untraveled Lincoln who kept us out.

Wise foreign relations require fundamentally not a body that has traveled, but a mind and spirit capable of traveling—a mind that feels the common qualities of men, that values the moral dignity and the love of life implanted in all, and is capable of neighborliness with all sorts and conditions of men however different their accents of speech. The qualities which underlay Governor Smith's success in New York are the best possible sources for foreign policies. His imagination, his generosity, his patient and pacific temperament, his humor, his charm, his flair for reality, his effectiveness in negotiation, are far better guarantees for a wise and tolerant dealing with other peoples than impatience and temper and a dogmatic belief in pre-war economic theories of national self-interest.

Thus, I believe, would Governor Smith's election be interpreted. They are ends profoundly worth bringing to pass.

FELIX FRANKFURTER.

The South and the Tariff

WHEN the Democratic party adopted for 1928 a platform which recognizes the time-honored Republican principle of "equalization of production costs at home and abroad" as a leading measure of justice in tariff-making, it became clear that the Democrats have lost all claim to be considered an anti-protectionist party. It signified also that the South, traditionally the home of free-trade or low-tariff sentiment, has in large part abandoned these views. Clearly, the tariff plank could not have been written without the consent of the powerful Southern branch of the party. The fact that such influential leaders of the Southern Democracy as Senators Caraway, Harrison, and Glass, Governor Dan Moody, and Josephus Daniels were members of the Resolutions Committee that drafted the document is sufficient guarantee of its acceptability below the Mason-Dixon line.

Lying back of this changed and changing attitude toward the tariff is one basic economic factor—that in large measure the South has emancipated herself from the undisputed sway of cotton. The Old South could be interpreted in terms of this one product. It was cotton that gave such strength to slavery that it could be dislodged only by civil war, and it was cotton that gave rise to many of the peculiar social and economic institutions of the South that have carried over to the present day. It was the exportation of cotton that determined her anti-protectionist policy. But the cotton culture has waned in relative importance, in spite of the fact that today the South produces more cotton than ever before in her history. Manufacturing has developed greatly, there has been in many sections a strong trend toward diversification of agriculture, and extractive industries apart from agriculture have grown up. Rapid expansion in these three directions has brought about a diversified economic life and has broken down that substantial unity of economic interest which was characteristic of the Old South. Amongst other things, it has led to the growth of powerful economic groups which produce primarily for the American market and see in tariff protection very real benefits for themselves.

It is in terms of particular commodities that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southerners have been weaned away from their free-trade or low-tariff ideas. The movement has gone from the particular to the general—no unusual type of evolution. Before 1900, there was recognition of the advantages of protection for such products as sugar, lumber, iron ore and cotton goods. There followed coöperation between producers of these and other commodities to get ample duties for each other. Increasingly these groups came to accept the principle of protection for all industries that claimed it, clearly a useful basis for advancing their own interests. With the rapid growth of industries desiring tariff duties which has occurred since the World War, the strength of the protectionist movement has become very considerable. At present it embraces not only manufacturers and mineral producers, but also many farmers. There is still a good deal of low-tariff opinion in the cotton-growing districts, but in many sections, notably the peanut areas of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, the Piedmont manufacturing towns of the Carolinas and Georgia, the fruit and truck areas of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, the iron and steel districts of Alabama and Tennessee, the sugar region of Louisiana and the cattle districts of Texas, the people are no more hostile to Fordney-McCumberism than they are in the textile centers of New England.

The industrialization of the South is comparatively recent. It was not until about 1880 that the movement began. Cotton manufacturing took the lead, as it had in the industrial revolutions of Great Britain and New England, and by 1900 the cotton-growing states were challenging the textile supremacy of New England. The manufacture of tobacco followed. Significant of the new era was the fact that it was a Southerner, J. B. Duke, who organized the tobacco trust that occasioned so much public alarm twenty-five or thirty years ago. By 1890 the coal, iron ore, and limestone deposits of Alabama were being exploited, and the foundations of the modern iron and steel center of Birmingham had been laid. By this time, too, coal and other minerals were being mined in the Appalachian regions of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Before 1900, factories were built to fabricate cottonseed and cotton linters and other raw materials, and industrial diversification was well begun.

Since 1900, and particularly since the War, the movement of industrialization has attained real importance and has drawn public attention to the fact that many parts of the South are no longer predominantly agricultural. In 1900 the value of farm products (including livestock products) produced in the South Atlantic states was $465,492,097, and in 1899 the value of manufactured products was $839,752,000; while in 1924 the value of farm crops was $848,819,304, and in 1925 the value of manufactured products was $4,535,222,000. The annual production of farm commodities had about doubled in value during this twenty-five-year period, while that of manufactures had increased about five and one-half times.

The following table, drawn from census figures, suggests the growth of manufacturing in the South Atlantic states relative to population increase:

Year	Wage-Earners Engaged in Manufacturing	Year	Population
1879	213,540	1880	7,597,197
1899	497,972	1900	10,443,480
1909	663,015	1910	12,194,895
1919	817,212	1920	13,990,272
1925	838,834	1925	15,418,000[1]

According to these figures, population increased by 103 percent between 1880 and 1925, while the number of wage-earners engaged in manufacturing increased by 293 percent between 1879 and 1925. During the same period the value of manufactures increased by 1,450 percent. This figure overemphasizes the degree of expansion in manufactures, of course, because of the upward price changes which took place during these years.

Not only have the South Atlantic states advanced absolutely in manufactures, but also relatively compared to the rest of the country. In 1879 they contributed 5.4 percent of the total value of manufactures produced in the United States, in 1899, 6.4 percent, and in 1925, 7.2 percent. The small relative gain of the South Atlantic region is explained by the fact that manufacturing in other parts of the United States has also been increasing at amazing speed.

Textiles have continued to hold first place among Southern manufacturing industries. Since the War the cotton-growing states have forged ahead of New England in output of cotton goods. In 1925 the South produced 54.2 percent of the value of American cotton manufacturers and New England 35.5 percent. In the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Virginia, where the cotton factories are most numerous, other textile industries have also become important. Knit goods, woolens, cordage, silk and artificial silk goods, and hosiery are all produced on a large scale. In tobacco manufacture, too, the South has moved forward rapidly. The value of manufactured tobacco produced in the states of North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Kentucky and Tennessee was more than $500,000,000 in 1925, 46.8 percent of the total for the United States. In 1899 these states had contributed only 19.4 percent of the total. The lumber and wood products industries have also made great strides. In furniture manufacturing, North Carolina has its High Point, which has come to rival Michigan's Grand Rapids as a furniture center. Industries in the Southeast[2] reported by the Census Bureau as producing commodities valued at more than $50,000,000 in 1925 were the following:

[1] Census Bureau estimate.

[2] Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cotton goods	Fertilizer
Tobacco	Oil cake and meal (cottonseed)
Lumber, timber products	Steel works and rolling mills
Steam railroad repair shops	Food preparations
	Furniture
Lumber, planing mill products	Flour, grain and mill products
	Blast furnaces
Printing and publishing	Cast iron pipe

It is lists of this sort which explain, more than any amount of general statement, why the tariff doctrine has grown popular in the South. All of the industries listed, except printing and publishing and steam railroad repairs, have developed with some degree of protection, and all have made demands, at one time or another, for more. This is also true of all but a few of the minor branches of manufacture.

Rapid development of the mineral industries has accompanied the process of industrialization. In 1925, the value of mineral production in the South Atlantic and East South Central states, exclusive of Delaware and Maryland, was $670,284,000. By far the most important item was coal, with pig iron from Alabama and Tennessee second in the list. Other products of some importance were clay, phosphate rock, sand and gravel, granite, and cement. In coal production, partly because of lower wage charges, favorable freight rates, and labor disturbances in the Northern coal regions, and partly because of natural advantages, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Virginia and Tennessee have advanced rapidly since the War. These states produced 43.3 percent of American tonnage of bituminous in 1926 and more than half in 1927.

Although the producers of coal and iron ore are but slightly affected by foreign competition, they have been protectionist in sentiment in the past and they remain so today, largely through force of tradition. Many of the other mineral producers of the South are very dependent upon tariff protection, and are staunch advocates of high duties.

Another economic characteristic of the new South is the trend toward diversified agriculture. Fifty years ago leading Southerners recognized the economic and social dangers in a one-crop system, but their warnings that diversification was imperative made little impression upon the farm population. Since then, the efforts of the federal Department of Agriculture and the various state departments have been more successful. Dairying has grown in importance everywhere, and relatively new crops, such as peanuts, truck vegetables, citrus fruits, white potatoes, and grain sorghums have been raised extensively. For the last few years less than a third of the acreage in the South Atlantic states has been devoted to cotton.

It is interesting and significant that of late farmers and cattlemen have been among the most active high-tariff advocates in the South. Texas cattle raisers played a leading part in the formation of the Southern Tariff Association, an influential body organized at New Orleans in 1920, which has mobilized and fostered protectionist opinion since that time. At all the conventions of the Association, agricultural interests have been well represented. Sugar producers from Louisiana easily come first in the list, of course, while growers of peanuts, fruits, truck vegetables, long-staple cotton, potatoes, rice, and tobacco have also been prominent.

The fact that the isolation from other parts of the country which was so characteristic of the South for fifty years after the Civil War has been largely broken down, partly in consequence of the economic changes mentioned above, is another factor which has contributed toward a shift in tariff opinion. This has meant that ideas popular in the North have had a much greater opportunity of influencing Southern opinion than ever before. The development of urban communities has played a leading part in this process. Townsmen are notoriously less provincial than their country cousins. In 1900 only 21.4 percent of the inhabitants of the South Atlantic states were living in communities of more than 2,500 in population, while in 1920 the proportion had increased to 31 percent. The movement of Northerners into the South, either as tourists or as permanent settlers, has also undermined isolation.

More important still, from the standpoint of tariff opinion, has been the rise of an influential class of business men who have many contacts with their fellows in the North through their trade associations, chambers of commerce, service clubs, and business dealings. They have become ready converts to the "business point of view," so that a realtor in Atlanta is likely to have much the same ideas on economic subjects as one who follows the same trade in Philadelphia. The pressure of Northern opinion in favor of high protection has been a strong influence in the South in recent years and has undoubtedly converted many people, such as merchants, bankers, and professional men, who could derive little or no direct benefit from import duties.

There is every indication that the economic processes sketched above will continue. The South is not yet made over. It is still very much in process of industrial development. It has advantages that are bound to make for further extension of manufacturing, diversified agriculture, and mining. It produces a large variety of raw materials, notably cotton, tobacco, iron ore, limestone, coal, timber, graphite, and china clay that can be processed profitably close to sources of supply. It has soils and climatic conditions favorable to crops of all kinds. An abundance of water power and the availability of coal make possible the provision of electric power at low rates. Prosperity has made home markets of real importance and the extensive markets of the Middle West are not far away. Most important of all is the factor of cheap labor. Wage rates and labor costs are likely to remain low

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for some time, for there are large reserves of labor available in the farming regions for service in urban industry. In their high-pressure campaigns for new industries, the Southern chambers of commerce frequently make ridiculous claims about the manufacturing advantages of their region, but there is a large measure of truth in the general drift of their argument.

Emancipation from cotton-growing in the states east of the Mississippi may be very much hastened in the next few years by revolutionary developments in the industry. Already Texas and Oklahoma are far in the lead as cotton-producing states, and they have millions of acres of virgin soil eminently fitted for cotton cultivation. Particularly in western Texas, production is on a large scale and costs are relatively low. Tremendous expansion in this area would undoubtedly occur if the costly process of hand picking could be eliminated. A mechanical picker would solve this problem. And it is confidently expected by many cotton authorities that a picker will shortly be developed, after almost a century of experimentation toward this end. The International Harvester Company has already constructed a machine which is said to have proved satisfactory in tests. If the picker is perfected, cotton production in most sections of the Old South will be doomed, for the tenant farmers will be unable to use the machine profitably on their small plots of land and will be quite unable to compete with the large-scale producers of the new areas. When this happens, the trend toward diversification will be greatly accentuated in the Old South and thousands of farmers will be released from the land to seek employment in town factories, a development that will exercise a depressing effect upon wage rates and that should stimulate industrial development notably. With the progress of the economic trends sketched above, Southern attitude toward the tariff is bound to change even more. It may not be long before the Old South, if not the area west of the Mississippi, becomes one of the most strongly protectionist parts of the United States.

HARRY M. CASSIDY.

Sleep to Waking

The mind that a dream left sullen
Turns to the cold clouded light
And broods as on a thing lifted from sleep
Upon the bough that shows its bodily leaves
Colored like shadows, withdrawing them from night;
Pondering how many nights ago,
Nested among these leaves the marvelous flock
Was telling with its many honey tongues
The tale of sleep, or if those leaves or no;
Since now an elder mind must climb so deep
Into sleep's well, after such image there,
Or stranger nature, if it come at all,
It will come unremembering out of sleep.

LÉONIE ADAMS.

Washington Notes

IF the Happy Warrior does not win this time—and it is a painful duty to point out that the Wall Street odds are still three to one against him—certainly, no one can say he has not tried. Never in my recollection has anyone tried quite so hard or enthusiastically, not even the late lamented Bryan. Beside the present gallant effort of the hard-hitting Al, those past ones of Jimmie Cox and John Davis seem puny. His effort has to be greater and his blows harder, because not in my recollection has any candidate for the presidency had heavier obstacles to overcome. It is necessary for the Happy Warrior to conquer Republican strongholds in the East and West, overturning in them literally appalling majorities, and switching political scenery which in the last eight years of prosperity and propaganda the sly, smug leaders of the Grand Old Party have been almost able to convert into permanent fixtures. In addition he has to sweat and strain and scheme and struggle to hold states to which no other Democratic candidate for the presidency ever had to give a thought.

Under these conditions, all I have to say is that, if he does win, the long-talked-of political miracle will have occurred and the boldest bid for the presidency made in our time succeeded. And should he lose, there are so many strings to his bow, the reasons for voting for or against him are so multitudinous, his appeal is so wide and varied and the prejudices he creates so novel and numerous, that it will never be clear what licked him. Of course, there will be the cry that but for his religion he could have been elected. Regardless, however, of whether he is beaten by a narrow margin or a wide one, there will never be any way of proving that, and just as sound an argument can be made in one direction as in the other. It can, for example, be demonstrated that in certain states—Massachusetts, for instance—his religion was an asset, not a liability.

I shudder to think of the controversy along these lines that will follow a Democratic defeat. It is bound to be bitter and prolonged. I do not, however, agree with those who so earnestly contend that if Al is not elected the Democratic party is doomed, that it may as well shut up shop and go out of business, that from then on, but particularly in 1932, all the Catholics who voted for Al, which means all the Catholics there are who can vote at all, will unanimously and enthusiastically vote against the next Democratic candidate, and all subsequent ones, if, as is very likely, these candidates are Protestants. It is argued that the Catholics will do this merely because the Happy Warrior's gallant fight failed to have a happy ending. In my judgment, this is a silly notion, and no such thing will happen should this campaign result disastrously for the Democrats.

Despite the Wall Street odds, the Literary Digest poll, the straw vote of the Hearst papers, the support of Rabbi Wise and Chairman Raskob's continued delusion about Pennsylvania—despite all these, I am still convinced his chance of winning is a real one and that, as I have previously pointed out, the trend of the Germans and the Negroes is a Republican danger not to be dismissed lightly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of the reported determination of the Western farmers to go Democratic I am, as always, intensely skeptical, but of the real unrest of the two racial groups above mentioned, I am quite well satisfied. It is true they never have gone before, and they may not this time go the whole distance. Nevertheless, Smith's appeal to each is concededly stronger than any Democratic presidential candidate has previously made, and his fate this time is largely in their hands. From them—and from them only—can he make up the defection of Democratic drys, of Hooverized females and bigots of the border states. If he should win in this way, which is the only way he can win, what a gorgeous lot of fun there will be here in Washington next year, watching the Democracy get organized for action under a Tammany boss, adapting itself to his leadership and outlook, adopting the new principles and policies to which, in this campaign, he has committed it.

The great difficulty of the party will not be in throwing off its dry shackles and following President Al toward moist modification. Nor will it be much of a wrench, under his urge, to pass the McNary-Haugen Bill, equalization fee and all. Many Democrats in Congress voted for the bill last time, though mostly with the idea of embarrassing Herbert and the good Calvin. (It embarrassed Herbert very much but Calvin not at all.) If Al should win, the Democrats in Congress next time would have to vote for the bill, not with the idea that it would be vetoed, but with full assurance that it will become a law. In his effort to gain the Corn Belt support the Happy Warrior had to go so far in the equalization direction that there can be no doubt at all about what he will do if he gets in. But the thing that will most seriously strain the old-line Democrats, the fellows who have served in the Senate more than one term and in the House from four terms up—the thing that will cause the most mental anguish among the members from the sunny South, in the event Smith is elected, will be to follow him in the protective-tariff policy to which he is now committed and which is, disguise it as you will, a Republican policy, as widely as possible at variance with historic and fundamental Democratic doctrine. Last week, out in Kentucky, Al certainly scrapped the traditional tariff principle of the party of Jefferson and expressed views on the subject such as no previous Democratic presidential candidate had ever—at least publicly—entertained. It was obviously a bold, not to say desperate, effort to spike the Republican guns which had already begun to open fire on him as an enemy of business. It was the result of long and serious conferences held in New York and Albany and of strong urging by representatives of Big Business whose support means much to him. It was so clearly a forced move that I am doubtful of its effect. In any event, it is dreadful to think of the sufferings of those two stalwart and unshakable tariff-for-revenue-only Democrats who are so earnestly urging Smith's election—the Hon. Carter Glass of Virginia and the Hon. Cordell Hull of Tennessee. How they must have winced when they read that tariff speech! And I rather think, too, it made the Hon. George Norris of Nebraska gulp a little. It is a funny campaign.

Washington. T. R. B.

Joy on the Mountains

Machinal, by Sophie Treadwell. Plymouth Theater. October 7, 1928.

MISS TREADWELL'S play is in ten episodes, and, as the title implies, consists of a world of people turned, twisted, exhibited or destroyed in this machine of our American daily existence. In the program the characters are not even named; they run in types as if we dealt with some drab realm of *commedia dell' arte;* we read A Young Woman, A Telephone Girl, A Stenographer, A Filing Clerk, A Mother, A Husband and so on. We sit before these brief scenes, so trenchantly and simply presented by Mr. Arthur Hopkins' directing, so searchingly exposed by Mr. Robert Edmond Jones' genius of light, and see one phase after another of lives propelled and muted by dead engines; forces, systems and empty wheels in which they appear to us, pass through the sections of experience by which the dramatist chooses to express her themes, and disappear at last to leave only that vacant stage, no objects, no people, no events, only the light growing brighter, flame-color at the bottom rising into blue, the moment of death for the tormented being in the electric chair.

The first scene of "Machinal" is in an office; we see the other employees and then the leading character, who is now to receive an offer of marriage from the vice-president of the company, Mr. Jones. We see her then at home with her sniffling mother, starving for some word that will save her, reproaching her mother, and then defeated before those whines and tears and promising at last to marry Mr. Jones. Then the scene in the hotel, the honeymoon with Mr. Jones, of the fat hands and business career, the room at twelve dollars a day, but he intends to make it worth that and more; the sea somewhere outside the window, but hidden, and even if it were not, you could not see it, for Mr. Jones always wants the shades down. There is a scene then in the hospital, after the child is born, Mr. Jones bringing flowers and talking to her till the gagging comes on again. Then the speakeasy, with three couples at three tables, a man of fifty seducing a young boy, a couple arguing an abortion, and two young men, one married, waiting for two girls, one of whom turns out to be Mr. Jones' wife. She goes to his room with one of the men, a drifting fellow, capitally written by the author. In this room the girl learns for the first time what romance is, what love is, she hears of his life in Mexico, of the way he killed a bandit with a bottle loaded with pebbles, hears the words of his song, and when she goes, takes with her a Chinese lily growing in a bowl—this man that she has found at last is such a one as would buy the flower for himself.

In the next scene, Mr. Jones is at the telephone. He has put over a big deal, you bet your life, did they sign? did they! right on the dotted line. More acquaintances are on the telephone, did they sign? did they! et cetera; the scene ends with the young wife seeing a vision of the man in Mexico—he is telling the story of the bandit and the bottle—and then with a fit of hysterics. The eighth episode is in a court-room, where the girl is being tried for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the murder of her husband. Her defense goes fairly well until a statement is read from the man in Mexico, telling of her visits to his room and of the bowl and the pebbles with which the bottle that struck Mr. Jones over the head had been loaded. She breaks down and confesses. The prison follows, the priest, the tortured, thwarted creature asking where she will be tomorrow, asking only for peace. Then the last scene with the empty radiant stage.

The characters in "Machinal," by virtue of the dramatist's gift and skill, and through the advantage of the expressionistic method, are set out into an admirably round and solid relation to the main story and main theme of the play. They are drawn with courage and security for the office they must perform, not individualized, but left somewhat typical and thematic. There is a kind of bravery, too, in the nakedness of these themes, that, for instance, of the husband's relation to his wife, his laughing, naïve satisfaction with himself, his refusal to be interested in her woman's music, his liking her for her shudder at his touch, which to his mind is a height of purity that marks her out from the other women he knows and which is only one more field for his conquest and big dealing. The innocent and brawling vacuity of this man is exposed as typical of his kind, just as the girl is presented as a clear theme in her kind. There is obviously more to be said on this subject, but for the dramatist's purposes the statement and elimination are effective and workable.

The scene with the young man, in his room, is remarkably well written, and curiously poignant through a sort of delicacy that it possesses and its underlying tone of a certain bare sorrow and fatal desire. The breaking down, or something like breaking down, of the play comes with the trial scene, into which too much has slipped of stage realism, a method of suspense and brutality too merely intriguing and harrowing, too like the tricks of "The Trial of Mary Dugan." The redemption of this scene, in so far as it is redeemed, must depend on that cold statement from the man, written in Mexico in the cause of justice, bought very likely; the thrust of that treachery hits the whole tragedy of the girl's defeat in this life where she never had a chance. The last scene, when the girl speaks and asks her questions, is moving now and again, it is certainly painful enough as stage incident. But I, at least, was troubled—and considerably eased—by the resemblance of this scene to the stage version of "An American Tragedy," where, I remember, the obvious and highly practical intention to knock me out with staring horror and pity was a solid comfort in the presence of such painful matter.

There is something in the sum total of this play—distinct and admirable as so much of it is—that remains vagrant and unconcluded; it never quite completes itself. There must be many who felt this in the theater and afterward; and there must be almost as many ways of explaining it, of finding the reason for this final incompleteness. I think myself that it derives most from some sort of lacking in resilience. I should not say that the resemblance to life is pared down out of all probability or convincingness, for the dramatist has a right to treat the material as she pleases, so long as she achieves a final cogency around her theme and purpose. What I should say is that, when the play was ended, I felt, for all the admirable spots in it, a certain resentment. I had been moved sometimes, and sometimes delighted with the skill, the turn, the felicity of the motive, the drawing of the instance. But I had felt little exhilaration from the whole, not enough of that pleasure or satisfaction, which is the same thing, that ought to come off from a work of art.

There have been people who smiled at Byron, saying that in his darkest moods, when he writes of his blackest sorrows, the verses break into waltz time. That sounds pat and says, too, more or less what is true, that Byron's gloom is often stage gloom, striking sorrows that make you delight in his tragic figure—he said to Thorvaldsen after the bust was done, "I don't look tragic enough," and when he was a young man on his way to Portugal, he drew his cloak around him and sat moodily looking at the waves, in order to compel the interest of passengers. But all such items prove only personal vanities and incidents, and by no means affect the principle that art is a form of exhilaration, up or down, black—as in the "Macbeth" murder scene, white—as in the scene of the pitcher of tears in "The Sunken Bell"—or drab—as in Henri Becque—but exhilaration. Art is a sea in which the tides of life move still, another form of life, indeed, infectious in its vitality, and, as life is always, contagious in its rhythm. We may want splendor in art or we may want depression, or both and all that lies between, that will depend on the individual; but one thing is necessary: its beat and force must be unescapable. In some subtle way this is the final lack in "Machinal," courageous and skillful venture that it is.

The acting of the company is very apt. The sum of it is impersonal and never too dependent on any one player. The level of it is excellent, and in the absence of any too marked personal intrusion, the motivations of the play in every direction get such a chance as we rarely see in our theater.

STARK YOUNG.

The Haunted Castle

ON A jutting rock, high on a precipitous mountainside, stands the haunted castle. The hawks soar over it; the rains beat against its walls; it is the lair of winds, the dwelling-place of thunder. Tonight, however, it lies sleeping in a coverlet of ivy, beneath the moon, while an owl hoots in a window of the deserted western wing. The castle bell is about to strike the hour. On its twelfth stroke the dauntless Theodore will fall beneath the headsman's axe. Hark! A rusty door swings open, and out of the secret dungeons appears a ghost to save him: it is the Bleeding Nun, perhaps, with her hand clasped to the hilt of a poniard in her breast; it is the ghost of the brave Alonzo, wreathed in worms; it is all the ghosts of Horace Walpole, of Ann Radcliffe, of Matthew Gregory Lewis, Charles Robert Maturin and their regiments of imitators.

The Gothic novel, which these writers invented and brought to a sort of perfection, is perhaps today the most neglected field of English letters. About the year 1800 it was immensely popular. Five of Mrs. Radcliffe's six romances had run through more editions than I can hope to count. "The Monk," by Matthew Gregory Lewis,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was being attacked and imitated all over Europe. "The Castle of Otranto," first issued thirty-six years before, was still being reprinted for younger readers; it helped to form the minds of two generations. All of these novels are practically forgotten today. Contemporary critics seem to realize neither their intrinsic value, which is not small, nor their incalculable effect on European letters.

Let us consider some recent judgments of a Gothic novel which, in a way, is typical of them all. "The Monk" is granted mention, and no more, in textbooks of English literature. It was reissued a few years ago, but with a patronizing preface which calls it "the crude production of a boy in his teens. . . . His only qualification for writing was an insatiable ambition, the *cacoethes scribendi* in its most vulgar form." Mr. Eino Railo, author of "The Haunted Castle," (Dutton, New York), speaks with less prejudice; he admits that "The Monk," in its "poor and distorted form," hides far-reaching ideas, but, nevertheless, he believes that it scarcely belongs to literature.

Such was not the opinion of Scott or Byron. The first, for many years, acknowledged Lewis as one of his masters; both in his novels, and even more in his poems, can be found the influence of the older writer. Byron apostrophized him as "wonder-working Lewis!" Shelley, while at Oxford, flattered him in two novels with the sincerest imitation. I cannot believe that all these writers were mistaken; and in fact, if we read "The Monk" without preconceptions, we find that it possesses several qualities which are neither vulgar nor unliterary.

It is the story of Father Ambrosio, abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Madrid, who is seduced by a woman disguised as a friar, and who finally, after a series of unparalleled crimes, is carried away by Satan. The story has an astounding power of imaginative evocation—astounding, because we have long ceased to believe in the ghosts and demons, the dreams and portents which were Lewis' favorite materials. We may doubt the eternal life and deny the devil, but we cannot fail to be moved when the guilty monk sells his soul to Lucifer. We may question the reality of Matilda's character, but we are forced to admit her reptilian charm. We shudder when the Bleeding Nun appears beneath the walls of Castle Lindenberg. And we reflect that scenes and characters like these are perhaps a literary equivalent of abstract painting: they make no attempt to transcribe reality; they have a life of their own which is independent of belief.

However, in addition to its fantastic elements, "The Monk" introduced a sort of violent realism then unknown to fiction: a naturalism of the passions, an accuratism of horror. Ambrosio's fall was not purely a contrivance of Satan: he was also tempted because "his constitution made a woman necessary." Agnes, the heroine, when walled in the dungeons of Santa Clara, was not surrounded merely with nameless horrors: she felt the "quick cold lizard" darting across her face, and often on waking "found her fingers ringed with the long worms which bred in the corrupted flesh of her infant." This mixture of the imaginary with the real, of the impossible with the inevitable—was it not the method which would be adopted by all subsequent writers of the Romantic school?

For there is no doubt that "The Monk" had the property of affecting men of genius, some of whom I have mentioned already. Probably we should add the names of Poe and Coleridge to the list. Hoffmann's tales also show the influence of Lewis, and researches by French scholars have given us the names of Victor Hugo, Balzac, Alfred de Vigny, Rimbaud and Isidore Ducasse. To almost all these writers, "The Monk" was a talisman, a magic mirror: it revealed new worlds of mystery, passion, terror, forbidden dreams.

It is true that its faults are obvious and many. Its style is inflated; its dialogue is not two steps from the ridiculous. Its construction is so loose that the principal character disappears from the story for over a hundred pages. And yet, it would be rash to say that the book is outside the art of letters. The literature of England, and indeed, of all the Western world, would be poorer if "The Monk" had never appeared.

The same can be said for Gothic novels in general. Mr. Railo, who writes of the subject with much erudition and rather more urbanity than one expects from a research student, has shown how wide was their field of influence: it extended even into his native Finland. He has also advanced an interesting theory of their central conception. The haunted castle, he tells us, was never really intended to represent a building that existed in space or time. Rather, it was the imaginary focus for a state of mind, a repository for all the emotions—terror, mystery, loneliness, pride, longing—which the Age of Reason had endeavored to suppress. For writers of the Romantic era, the haunted castle was a symbol of liberation.

Its inhabitants, who were also symbolic, changed little from novel to novel. There was the blond hero, whose insipidity caused him eventually to disappear; there was the dark melancholy hero, cherished by Scott and Byron; there was the bright-haired young lady; the criminal monk often appeared, and occasionally our castle received the visits of Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew. Most of these characters had an interesting history. The monk, for example, led a double life: by day he was the image of piety; by night he abandoned himself to what Lewis described as "the siren's luxurious couch." Out of his sanctity and crimes grew a long line of characters with a double personality, like Poe's William Wilson, and Hugo's Claude Frollo, and even the more familiar Dr. Jekyll. The young lady, with her swoons and sentiments, affected life rather more than literature: she was the model imitated by two generations of "accomplished females." As for the Byronic hero, he descended on one side from Hamlet, on the other from Milton's Lucifer, and was the ancestor of Nietzsche's superman.

The castle itself, though Mr. Railo does not develop this theme, has met with an even more curious fate than its inhabitants. Built from the mind, it has returned to the dim regions from which it came. It has merged by slow degrees into the conceptions of abnormal psychology, without losing any of its horrors. For, we have learned that the mind, too, has its passages and labyrinths, and we are now finding them to be no less terrifying than those dungeons of Santa Clara where lizards crawled, where ghosts came stalking, and where a sudden gust of wind blew out the lamp.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Governor Smith and Enforcement

SIR: In the current number of the New Republic you state that you do not believe that Governor Smith, if elected President, would keep his promise to enforce the prohibition law. Yet in the next column you say that his prohibition policy is "sincere." One wonders what the New Republic's standard of sincerity is.

ALBERT C. KNUDSON.

[The context of the statement to which the correspondent refers reveals explicitly what, in this connection, the New Republic meant by "sincerity." By promising to enforce the prohibition law Governor Smith means precisely what Mr. Knudson would mean, if he were a candidate for President. He means that he would enforce it to the best of his ability, which would not in either case be very considerable. Congress is chiefly responsible for the failure to enforce the law. It has never created the administrative agencies which are required for its enforcement, and the reason why it has failed in this respect is simple and final. A majority of the American people may for various reasons wish to have the law preserved, but either they, or a sufficiently large minority, do not wish to have it enforced.—THE EDITORS.]

Hypocrites, Snobs and Politics

SIR: May a reader, sufficiently remote from Republican party ties to have voted the Democratic national tickets in 1916, 1920 and 1924, enter a serious protest at a certain tone that is creeping into your campaign against Mr. Hoover? Thousands of liberals resent very much the implication that because they regard prohibition as a necessary social reform they are really "religious bigots" hypocritically shielding their prejudices against the Catholic Church. They also resent the idea that because they see a certain value to a President in Mr. Hoover's scientific training and foreign travel, they are snobs recoiling in refined disgust from the odor of the Fulton Fish Market. Hoover's background was as humble as Smith's; both are self-made men who would be alike rejected by the social snob as of "no birth." As for intellectual snobbishness—is not the shoe on the other foot? For every voter "prejudiced" in favor of Mr. Hoover on account of his college training a dozen are prejudiced against him for the self-same reason. Did not Roosevelt have to become a cowboy to take off the curse of having graduated from Harvard? Did not Wilson find his ex-professorship a millstone about his neck? Did not millions of Babbitts argue against the League of Nations on the ground that "Wilson was only a college professor and didn't understand practical affairs"? Fortunately, no one can accuse either Smith or Hoover of not being "practical," but I will wager that for every vote that Hoover gets because he founded the Hoover war library or translated a book on mining from the Latin, Smith gets ten votes as a "plain man of the people." Think it over and be fair.

PRESTON W. SLOSSON.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

[The New Republic has not meant to suggest that all of those who are opposing Governor Smith on the ground of his wetness are using that as an excuse to conceal their religious bigotry. No doubt there are hundreds of thousands of sincere believers in prohibition who will vote for Mr. Hoover on that ground. We think Professor Slosson must agree, however, that there are many others who hide the real reason for their antipathy to Governor Smith, and we are confident that he does not condone their attitude.

As to snobbishness, we think an open-minded inquiry will convince Professor Slosson that both the social and the intellectual snobs of every community are supporting Mr. Hoover. Whether Governor Smith will benefit from the votes of the anti-snobs seems to us utterly beside the point. There are certain obligations which education and social position ought to carry with them, and high on the list is the obligation against snobbishness which is now being grossly betrayed by so many persons.—THE EDITORS.]

Mr. Floyd is for Thomas

SIR: There should be no confusion regarding the successor to La Follette in this campaign. Thomas supported La Follette; Smith worked against him. There is no evidence that either man has changed his opinions since 1924.

The chief reason for voting for Norman Thomas is to obtain for the people what the other candidates promise. Socialists really want what the conservatives pretend to want. . . .

Republicans and Democrats have promised honesty in government, relief for the farmers, high wages, collective bargaining, international peace with prosperity and happiness for all. Experience shows that they don't mean a word of it. The only hope of obtaining these benefits is from a third party devoted to the interests of the people.

Republicans and Democrats may not drink the same liquor or swear the same oaths, but they are brothers under the dollar. Capitalists are contributing to both campaigns in confidence that neither candidate will interfere with big business. Only a third party aims to reward people according to their value to society.

The personal characteristics of the candidates are far less important than their party practices. What difference does it make whether the President is a bad Protestant or a good Catholic? What matters it that Thomas graduated from Princeton and Smith from Fulton Fish Market? Or that Smith will enforce prohibition to keep us wet while Hoover will enforce it equally badly to make us dry? The difference is only 2.75 percent. What choice is there between a Fighting Quaker and a Happy Warrior? When the President-elect enters the White House he becomes a cog in the party machine, a mere robot controlled by unseen forces.

A new machine is needed to produce a better type of civilization. The Socialist party, with all its faults, is still stronger than any existing progressive group. A vote for its candidate is a protest against corruption and injustice, but it is more than that. Thomas proposes reforms that may be adopted from time to time by the parties in power. Thomas will not get into the White House, but his ideas may. His efforts, and the votes of his supporters, may be responsible for a more equitable system of supplying the people with power, coal and transportation. A third party must be kept alive to suggest progressive measures.

As it makes but little difference whether Hoover or Smith is elected, a vote for either is thrown away. A vote for Thomas is not thrown away, for it represents a protest against private profits, and encourages public ownership.

WILLIAM FLOYD.

New York City.

Catholicism and Birth Control

SIR: Politics makes strange bedfellows. Surely there have been none stranger than the liberals, the "progressives," the champions of freedom, who are supporting Governor Smith because of his stand on prohibition. Verily they are straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. In all tolerance and in all respect, to brush aside the religious aspect of this campaign is to remain stupidly satisfied with a superficial tolerance, and to ignore its profounder and most interesting aspects. "As a man thinketh, so is he. . . ." No one, surely, would say that Governor Smith, if elected, would act in a manner disloyal to the great Church in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which he was born and brought up. He cannot go against its edict.

Father P. J. Ward, of the National Catholic Welfare Council of Washington, D. C., has defined the attitude of the Catholic Church concerning the morals and habits of non-Catholics. The Catholic Church, he has declared, is the depository of eternal truth, the kingdom of God on earth. She is responsible for the morals of the entire human race. "It is her *duty to interfere and block all legislation* that will adversely affect the morals of non-Catholics, as well as Catholics, because she feels that these are her children, though they have been led astray by error. The Catholic Church never loses the hope that non-Catholics will be some day counted in the fold. Therefore, it is necessary to supervise all social and moral legislation."

The same authority has assured us that the Catholic Church is opposed to birth control because it interferes with the plan of God, "who intends that people who marry may do so for the purpose of procreation, or may live in each other's love in strict continence, like brother and sister. Marriage without the desire and responsibility of parenthood, or not lived in strict continence, is immoral and sinful." Such is the attitude of the National Catholic Welfare Council concerning birth control. Would Governor Smith dare or care to oppose its mandates in wielding a powerful opposition in any legislation involving the conscious control of procreative faculties aiming toward racial health, or toward the improvement of child life and the decreasing of infantile and maternal mortality rates? No. His mind, admirable as it may be, is oriented in the direction of his Church. It is attuned to the closed world of preordained Catholic morality, which refuses to recognize that one man's virtue may be another's sin, or that in the realm of ethics the last word has not yet been uttered.

The question is not merely one of Governor Smith's liberality or open-mindedness. It is of powerful institutional forces, which will inevitably and with quiet power unconsciously direct his activity. Let us not forget the career of John Purroy Mitchel. The frying-pan of prohibition may be uncomfortable; but shall we, on that account, cast away the precious freedom of our hard-earned "ethics of the dust" for a closed world of an alien and imprisoning morality?

MARGARET SANGER.

New York City.

Voting on Issues or Electing Rulers

SIR: Possibly the greatest value of our presidential elections lies in the incentive they furnish to serious consideration of our national policies and the opportunity they afford for free discussion and independent exercise of the franchise. That this scrutiny of our public life every four years has been so long kept up without interruption and that this freedom has in so marked a degree been preserved are significant facts. With all its shortcomings ours has been a noble experiment in democracy. The extension of the suffrage to all citizens, regardless of race and sex, marked decided progress in self-government, and the earnest efforts to reduce by social control such evils as involuntary servitude and intemperance were forward steps, whatever the ultimate judgment may be concerning war and prohibition as methods of suppression.

It is unquestionably a sign of political maturity when a people is more deeply concerned about the principles that should be followed in the conduct of its public affairs, the wisdom and moderation with which the mandates of the majority are carried out, and the equity and considerateness with which the views of dissenting minorities are treated, than about the advantages that might be gained by individuals and groups through a victory at the polls.

The platforms of the different parties are often regarded as of little importance. Yet the extreme care with which these official statements are drafted appears to me to betoken a just recognition of their significance. An increasing number of citizens are anxious to find out what the various parties stand for. Five millions voted in 1924 for La Follette. There are obviously as many today who are ready to change their political affiliation if there seem to be good reasons for doing so. These platforms must, of course, be studied critically, with due regard to what they omit, profess, and propose. When carefully considered, they give, in the main, a fairly accurate idea of the dominant attitude and objects of the groups they represent. Even if the desire to win leads to avoidance of vital questions, and there is no clear-cut issue between the largest of these groups, this is itself a revelation of character.

It is increasingly difficult to suppress the wish of the electorate to have some sufficient ground for a choice. Hence the attempt to find differences not indicated in the platforms, such as the attitude toward religious tests or the prohibition law. There is no party alignment, however, on either of these questions, and the election of one or the other of the most prominent candidates will not tend to settle them. The present situation has only emphasized the need of a more direct expression of the will of the people. Citizens want a chance to vote directly on questions affecting their life and welfare, and the present system does not make this possible. The vote in the Electoral College does not indicate, in an unmistakable manner, what the will of the majority is on any particular question discussed in the campaign. But since it was possible to abolish the originally intended discretionary power of the Electoral College, it does not seem impossible to change its function once more by introducing the practice of requesting it simply to certify the actual number of votes cast in each state and to declare the nominee receiving a majority of the votes cast in all states to be duly elected. The direct vote for United States Senators was effectively hastened by the introduction of a plebiscite directing the choice of the legislation. Where there is a will, there is a way. There is a growing demand that every citizen shall have an opportunity of voting directly on national questions, as he now has in many of our states on local concerns. In a number of countries, including the federal republic of Germany, this is possible.

As regards the social control of the liquor traffic, this method has been used in Sweden, Norway, and New South Wales, and has given a great measure of satisfaction, chiefly because the will of the majority has been unmistakably ascertained, experiments have been tried without the handicap of a fictitious finality, with moderation and regard for the dissenting minority. The same applies to more vital questions, like war and peace, economic policies, and civil liberty.

A further extension of the plebiscite as a supplement of the representative system is highly desirable. The chance of voting on real issues seems to me more important at the present moment than the election of officials. When their power is vaguely defined, they easily assume the role of rulers rather than servants. A true democracy does not seek for rulers or saviors; it administers its own affairs through its chosen servants and tries to work out its own salvation. Fundamental issues have again been brought to the fore by the Socialist party. In 1924 it coöperated with the progressives. It would, in my judgment, be wise for them to coöperate with it in 1928. If, as is probable, several millions of voters, a large percentage of the electorate, should fail to gain a single electoral vote, this would be a fresh illustration of the inadequacy of the system in vogue and have the effect of furthering the cause of government by the people.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Unrighteous or Self-Righteous

SIR: The more I see of this campaign, the more convinced I am that it is essentially a combat between the unrighteous and the self-righteous. The candidates themselves represent the two points of view very well; the organizations with which each is affiliated represent them even better; the persons whom I know who propose to vote one way or the other represent them better still; and finally the two religious denominations of the candidates represent the two points of view best of all.

An unrighteous person is one who does what he wants to do

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and lets it go at that. A self-righteous person is one who also does what he wants to do, but rationalizes his act as the will of God, as promoting the general welfare and prosperity of the country, as patriotic and the like. An unrighteous person is an extravert; a self-righteous one is an introvert. Al is unrighteous; Herbert is self-righteous. When such Republicans as Fall graft, it is for the patriotic purpose of saving the country from the Japanese, whereas when a typical Tammanyite grafts he needs the money. When Reverend John Roach Straton does a mean act he justifies it as the will of God in much the same way as the youth in Hatcher Hughes' play, "Hell Bent for Heaven." When a Catholic does a wicked thing, he confesses his sin and lets the priest fix it up with God.

Of the two, I dislike the unrighteous less. At least, here in North Carolina I do. We are worried by the self-righteous more than we are by the unrighteous. Ordinarily I would prefer to vote for Mr. Thomas, who is certainly not self-righteous, nor is he exactly unrighteous. But right here I want to rebuke the self-righteous, who are mighty obnoxious. I therefore shall cast my vote for Al Smith.

BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK.

Greensboro, N. C.

Treaties of Peace and Secretaries of War

SIR: The American Legion has just been holding its annual national convention at San Antonio; and Mr. Davis, the Secretary of War, went down to greet it for the administration. His address was reported by the Associated Press. He gave the Legion the promise, says the despatch, "that the administration does not contemplate any weakening of the national defense, because of the recently signed Kellogg treaties. As Secretary of War," he said, "I know the great value of the support which has been given by the American Legion to our national defense. Desirous of peace, you nevertheless have realized that we must not jeopardize our heritage of liberty during our search for a panacea for war. The government intends that there shall be no weakening of the national defense as a result of these treaties. Self-protection is the first law of nations. Even though world opinion now may appear to exercise a preponderant influence for peace, we shall not rely entirely upon its force." . . .

This is the sort of thing that makes plain people skeptical of politicians and makes them view their pretentious humanitarian programs as mere gestures, meant for quick and easy effect. Why magnificent multilateral treaties renouncing war, when we mean to go on just as if they did not exist and do not propose to regard them as adding anything to our security or justifying any fewer guns? What politician of them all believes that our "heritage of liberty" is "jeopardized," or that our navy or our command of explosives is "modest"? Such declamation and deceit, however highly sponsored, are peculiarly culpable here in the United States. Some European nations have real grounds for anxiety and fear and for going slowly in reducing armaments, for conditions there are still unsettled and they face real dangers. We face none; and any generous initiative or risks which we may take in inaugurating the new order are for us not risks at all. As Charles E. Hughes has so impressively said, "In no other power or any possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security."

By eloquent coincidence, at the very time of the War Secretary's fulmination to the Legion, the American delegates to the great Conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship at Prague arrived back in New York. This is the word that comes from their secretary: "The Churches of the world are getting rather disgusted with the governments continually signing peace pacts which imply immediate reduction of armaments and then doing nothing. The sentiment was expressed again and again, that we were no nearer peace than before by signing Locarno and Kellogg pacts in which we disclaim force as a basis of security, and then go on building up armaments, or even keeping those we have. Perhaps the biggest burst of applause of the whole conference came when an American delegate said in addressing a great meeting, 'We shall know in twelve months the value of the Kellogg pacts. Unless the nations signing them move at once for reduction of armaments, there will be hypocrisy somewhere.' The resolutions passed emphasized the fact that the various peace treaties being signed carried disarmament as the logical next step and called upon the governments to keep step with their own protestations."

The secretary added: "Mr. Hoover's remarks about national defense in his speech of acceptance had a terribly depressing effect all over Europe, coming as it did when Mr. Kellogg was starting for Europe with a treaty which means absolutely nothing, if not that the nations are to put aside force and preparation for war as defense and rely on mutual confidence and good will."

EDWIN D. MEAD.

Boston, Mass.

Disfranchised Citizens

SIR: I have noted with interest the contention voiced by a correspondent recently that residents of the District of Columbia should be enabled as such to vote on national questions. It may or may not be expedient to do this, but the precise issue should be made clear. This would involve abrogating a fundamental concept of the Republic, and opens up the whole question of the double citizenship.

Residents of the District are only one class of voters deprived of the franchise through no fault of their own. Their relief should be considered with that of the whole number of such voters, including commercial travelers, casual laborers, etc. It might be more to the purpose to urge upon the several states the propriety of enabling their citizens to register and vote by mail when attendance upon the polls is made impossible either by the duties of federal office or employment or by the exigencies of their legitimate avocations.

JAMES LAND ELLIS.

San Francisco, Cal.

A Conference on India

SIR: Permit me to bring to the attention of your readers the First India Conference, being held in New York City until November 5. The India Society of America, under whose auspices the Conference is held, is convinced that the surest way of bringing about a better understanding between India and America, between Orient and Occident, is by making available "a comprehensive knowledge and reliable information about India and her people, her art, philosophy and religion, her ancient civilization and her modern problems."

At the general sessions and the several round-table discussions, vital issues pertaining to India are being presented by competent authorities and discussed with special reference to America. On November 2, at 8:15 P. M., at the Society for Ethical Culture, Mme. Sarojini Naidu, Gandhi's devoted disciple and intimate coworker, India's greatest feminist and poetess, will make her first appearance in New York and deliver an address on an interpretation of India's womanhood.

Among those who have responded to our invitation to participate in the Conference are: Dr. Alfred W. Martin (Ethical Culture Society), Prof. George O. C. Haas (International School of Vedic and Allied Research), Brian Brown (Editor of "Wisdom of the Hindus," etc.), Prof. S. L. Joshi (Dartmouth College), Oswald Garrison Villard (Editor, The Nation), the Reverend John Haynes Holmes (Community Church of New York), Bishop Paul Jones (Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation), and many other prominent speakers.

Detailed information concerning the India Conference may be obtained by writing to the Director, India Society of America, 1107 Times Building, New York City.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR.

New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Col. House's Post Mortem

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Arranged as a narrative by Charles Seymour. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Two vols. 1,005 pages. $10.

THE third and fourth volumes of the record prepared by Professor Seymour from the papers of Colonel House follow the method of the earlier volumes, and are quite successful in providing a clear and very readable account of certain transactions from the entrance of the United States into the War, in April, 1917, to the signing of the treaty by Germany, June 28, 1919. The aspect of the War with which Colonel House was most intimately concerned was the relation of the United States to the Allied Powers. Colonel House had visited the capitals of these nations while engaged in exploring the possibilities of peace without victory in accordance with President Wilson's policy during the first two years of the War. He had become personally acquainted with their responsible political leaders and was in a position to act as liaison officer between them and Wilson. How completely they relied on his advice in approaching the United States and the President is clear from the correspondence in the first of the present volumes. In the summer of 1917 he was in the closest conference with Wilson in regard to the statement of the objectives of the United States in the War, with reference both to the immediate problem of securing the unity of the peoples of the Allied and associated nations and breaking the united front of the enemy peoples, and to the ultimate problem of world peace. He directed the organization of the commission, known as The Inquiry, of American experts, to make a study of the claims of the European belligerents, the results of which were formulated in the Fourteen Points. In October, 1917, he went abroad to represent Wilson in the Allied councils. Then and after his return he participated in the thorny negotiations for unity of Allied command, complicated as they were by the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the American Expeditionary Force. He prepared the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which he sent to Wilson in July, 1918. He was the President's confidential adviser in the negotiations arising out of the request of the Central Powers for an armistice, which took form in the pre-armistice agreement. He went abroad again in October, 1918, and participated in the discussions among the Allies from which emerged the armistice agreement of November 13. He remained to make arrangements for the American participation in the Peace Conference, and was a member of the American delegation of five, acting as Mr. Wilson's representative during his absence. His account of the making of the Armistice is a unique document of the highest importance to the history of the close of the War. His account of the final Peace Conference must be considered in connection with Mr. R. S. Baker's "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement," with which it is in substantial disagreement on certain points.

Out of the immense number of issues which Colonel House touches, two stand out as of major importance, *viz.*, the construction of the American peace program and the failure of that program at Paris. The first has been criticized as abortive, in that it took no account of existing treaties among the European Allies and was therefore doomed from the start. The inevitable conclusion is that the United States fought the War for objects actually in contradiction to its declared purposes, and that the promulgation of the Fourteen Points was intended to dupe not only the people of the Central Powers but likewise the people of the Allied nations and of the United States into sacrifices for the achievement of such objects. That Wilson realized this implication is shown by his explicit assurance to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs of his complete ignorance of agreements among the Allies, including the Treaty of London by which Italy was promised several pounds of flesh. Mr. Baker accepts this statement. Colonel House suggests that Wilson may have confused the date of his knowledge of the Shantung Agreement with Japan with the date on which he learned of the earlier treaties. He gives in full Lord Balfour's letter, written after Baker's book appeared, repeating his statement in the House of Commons that he fully informed Wilson on his visit to Washington in May, 1917. Further, Colonel House states categorically that, in drafting the Fourteen Points, Wilson distinctly intended to give "notice to the Entente that there must be revision in a liberal sense of the war aims which had been crystallized in the secret treaties. The President was especially disturbed by the Treaty of London and the arrangements made for the partition of the Turkish Empire." It would appear, therefore, that Wilson and House acted on the hypothesis that the Fourteen Points superseded all arrangements among the Allies in contradiction to them—though whether this pious hope could justify an assertion of actual ignorance of such arrangements is a question which must be left to casuists.

That House was anxious to test this point of view is shown by his letter to Wilson of September 3, 1918, which begins, "Do you not think the time has come for you to consider whether it would not be wise to try to commit the Allies to some of the things for which we are fighting?" The naïveté of this sentence, written a year and a half after we had entered the War, is relieved by his forecast of the situation which would result after its conclusion. "As the Allies succeed, your influence will diminish. . . . If the group I have mentioned come to the Congress flushed with victory, no appeal that you can make over their heads will be successful." This suggestion was responsible for the anxious tone of Wilson's speech at the Metropolitan Opera House on September 27, 1918, in which he addressed "the leaders of the governments with which we are associated" in the words, "I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained." It was probably too late by many months for this appeal to bear fruit. The German lines were already crumbling. Nevertheless House succeeded in the Allied Council, which drew up the armistice agreement, in having constant reference made to the Fourteen Points, and the interpretative comment thereon which he had had prepared, largely by Messrs. Walter Lippmann and Frank Cobb. The Council was divided between the desire to enforce such terms upon Germany as to make it impossible for her to resume the War, and the fear that if the terms were too severe she might reject them. Accordingly the Fourteen Points were specifically written into the Armistice, with certain reservations which, in House's opinion, made the acceptance of the rest as a basis for peace the more binding. This was a diplomatic triumph on which House was entitled to plume himself. It was the culmination of his career.

It is clear that at this point is the beginning of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

break in the harmonious relations between Wilson and his aide which had hitherto been a source of strength to the former and a notable factor in the coöperation of the United States with the Allies. Wilson continued cordial, and House devoted, but they no longer saw eye to eye. House, with the armistice negotiations behind him, was in favor of an immediate settlement of military and territorial terms. He saw that the strongest support for the Fourteen Points would come from a Germany not yet reduced by the blockade to starvation and impotence. He was opposed to Wilson's going to Paris, and thus stepping from the pedestal into the arena. He believed that the United States should be represented at the Peace Conference by the leaders, intellectual and political, of both parties. Wilson was determined to go to Paris, to run the whole show himself, and to obtain the right of way for his project of the League of Nations, in the belief that it would furnish a solvent for difficulties in reconciling the aims of the Allies with his own. To what extent Colonel House was right will never be known. It is clear that Wilson was wrong. The Covenant was debated and adopted as a gesture of courtesy to him; and the United States having been handed the *hors d'oeuvres,* the Allies proceeded to the more substantial part of the meal.

In view of this separation in policy, Mr. Baker brings serious charges of disloyalty. These are to the effect that during Wilson's absence in America in February and March, House connived with Balfour to change the agenda of the Conference from the consideration of military and naval terms to include territorial and other matters. "If it is too much to say," writes Mr. Baker candidly, "that there was a direct plot while Wilson was away, to kill the League or to cut it out of the treaty, one can affirm with certainty that there was an intrigue against his plan of a preliminary military and naval peace—which would have indirectly produced the same result." It is true that the League did not help in the formulation of terms as Mr. Wilson hoped, but this was because European statesmen like Clemenceau, who did not believe in its reality, could not be persuaded to commend their chief desiderata to its good offices. Again, the drawing up of military and naval terms by experts proved to be a matter of weeks. Obviously the Conference could not wait for them while Europe was plunging into the *débâcle* of starvation, depreciation and banditry, of which the attack by Rumania on Hungary is a reminder. And finally, in Wilson's instructions he expressly stated that "he did not wish that during his unavoidable absence, such questions as the territorial question and questions of compensation should be held up." Mr. Baker omits this sentence from his quotation.

Baker dates the coldness between Wilson and House to the ride from Brest to Paris on the former's return, when House gave an account of his stewardship. The further charge that House did not support Wilson in his last fight appears in the sentence written at the time: "The Colonel would make peace quickly by giving the greedy ones all they want." This has a certain plausibility. House had seen from the day of the Armistice the compelling need of Europe for a settled peace. He realized that the longer the treaty was postponed the worse it would be. He saw the impossibility of persuading the Allies to accept the Fourteen Points in April as they had done in November. He foresaw that even if the Allies agreed to articles in the treaty at Wilson's dictation, they would alter them later to their own advantage by force or fraud, as they actually did in Upper Silesia, the Saar, the Tyrol, Fiume, etc., etc. Wilson had staked everything on the League of Nations. It was an arguable position that the important thing was to let it begin to function as soon as possible. But if this was House's position it does not seem to have affected Wilson's confidence in him except in retrospect, and Wilson's retrospective judgment was hardly trustworthy.

There was one point in which Colonel House apparently failed to carry out the spirit of Wilson's policy, *viz.,* in the case of Russia. The subject is almost ignored in these volumes, with a mere reference to the projected conference of Russian factions at Prinkipo, and the assertion: "The Bolsheviks had refused." This is simply not true. The Bolshevik government replied to the invitation, which it received indirectly, with a conciliatory statement of its views and declared itself "ready to enter into immediate negotiations on Prince's Island or at any other place with all the Entente Powers or with individual powers of their number or with certain Russian political groups, according to the wish of the Entente Powers." A strange form of refusal! In fact it was the anti-Bolshevik groups which refused, and in spite of their attitude the Allies continued to give them support. Later Mr. Bullitt was sent to Russia, after consultation with Lloyd George, and brought back terms of peace which the Soviet government pledged itself to accept. The negotiation was directed by Colonel House, whose personal assistants, Miller and Auchincloss, proceeded to make such changes that Bullitt regarded them as vitally altering the original proposals. Colonel House upheld his satellites and Mr. Bullitt transmitted their terms under protest. The Soviets refused to consider them. Later Mr. Lloyd George denied knowing anything of these negotiations, and Mr. Bullitt resigned from the American delegation. In view of the direct issue of veracity thus raised between Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Lloyd George, Colonel House's silence on this point is inexcusable. One is left with the impression that he is ashamed of his handling of the Russian situation, as well he may be. To introduce that element into an account of the Peace Conference is indeed to vitiate the plot. The United States had lost its moral right to insist on a world settlement according to the Fourteen Points, since it was at the time repudiating the most important of them by making war on Russia.

The impression of Colonel House himself given in these volumes confirms that of the earlier ones. The tone in which he reviews his work, his success, and his failure, is always calm and collected. There is no repining, no special pleading, no condemnation. Indeed, one finds the Colonel's generosity in recognizing the supreme merits of everybody concerned a bit cloying. He was astute enough. When Lloyd George wanted him sent to join the Allied Council he wrote "He wants someone to overrule Pershing." But it is clear that he worked best in an atmosphere of geniality and mutual appreciation. Amid serious things he quotes examples of Mr. Bainbridge Colby's wit in prescribing a week's course at a Child's restaurant or an upper berth from New York to Washington to bring the American delegation, from its association with princes and potentates, down to normal. Such simplicity is engaging and reassuring. One can hardly doubt that Colonel House was always himself—a thorough American in European situations and atmosphere. One regrets that Henry James did not live to find in him a supreme example of the colonial-cosmopolitan theme.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wood-Engraving

A History of Wood-Engraving, by Douglas Percy Bliss. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 251 pages. $10.

FOR A long time there has been a very apparent need among those who read and write English, for a book to do for the process of wood-engraving what Mr. Arthur M. Hind's book, "A Short History of Engraving and Etching," has done for those processes. The woodcut has been neglected far too long. Not very many days ago I asked a dealer about some wood-engravings, whereupon he answered, "The public is not interested in wood-engravings." Perhaps if the art-seeking public had knowledge about woodcuts, the newly awakened interest in the art among the practising artists themselves, which is apparent everywhere, might be encouraged to continue rather than die. Mr. Bliss, in his book, goes a long way towards accomplishing this end.

The book starts with a careful and very clear analysis of processes, turning from that to the historical beginnings in the early German block-books, and the fifteenth-century book illustrators. In his handling of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cuts from books, Mr. Bliss shows a rare power of selection. In a field which, by its very nature, is so rich in material, it is difficult to select a few works from each country and century, and still give, as has been done here, a definite idea of a period, as well as much information which is most valuable, and in many instances none too well known by those well versed. If any criticism can be made of this part of the work, one wishes, perhaps, that a little more emphasis had been placed on individual artists of woodcuts apart from the book-illustrators. This lack is felt particularly in his one short chapter, "The German Painter-engravers of Dürer's Time," where such names as Cranach, Hans Baldung Grien and Burgkmair are just touched upon, and among the Little Masters, such a charming artist as Wolfgang Hüber is not even mentioned. In many ways these artists are, artistically speaking, far superior to the book-illustrators, in spite of the criticism which Mr. Bliss makes that their style is foreign to the technique of woodcut. This latter statement, however, can also be made of Dürer, to whom due credit is given by the author in spite of this criticism.

The chapter on the popular prints of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is interesting because the information is new, and he puts them in their right place in the development of the history of wood-engraving. Mr. Bliss' rare humor, however, which is manifested so delightfully throughout the whole book, seems strangely to have deserted him here.

It is not until we come to the criticism of the contemporary artists that we feel any doubt in our own minds as to the possible weight of his criticism. We can blame here, however, the nearness of these works, which seem, therefore, to try to defy criticism. As Mr. Bliss himself states, "it is difficult to pick the most prominent, more difficult still to say anything just about them; moreover, there is danger of making this essay into a catalogue of names and works, and the time has not come yet for any estimate of the permanent value of their achievements." But this seems to be side-stepping the question, and Mr. Bliss seems to have fallen into his own trap, for he mentions many names, criticizes but little, and that parenthetically, and illustrates only a few of those he mentions.

From such a brief summary, it will be seen that this work of Mr. Bliss is well organized. The material is concise, and yet complete within the range of a two-hundred-and-fifty-page book, and the many and well chosen illustrations are especially worthy of mention. The very personal interest, be it humorous or serious, which the author manifests in the works which he criticizes, makes the book worth-while reading for the layman as well as for the student of wood-engraving.

ETHEL HAHN.

A Factory Master of the Old South

William Gregg—Factory Master of the Old South, by Broadus Mitchell. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 331 pages. $3.

THE STORY of William Gregg's enterprise is the story of an industrial revolution that did not take place. He presents as striking an example of a man born ahead of his time as Roger Bacon—with this difference: that Gregg's labors in South Carolina, beginning in 1844, actually pointed the way to his immediate successors, and prepared the ground for that industrialization of the South which began forty years after his challenging essays on domestic industry appeared, and the cotton factory at Graniteville was founded. In the unfavorable environment of the *ante-bellum* South, Gregg managed his cotton factory with consummate skill and outstanding success, in spite of a prolonged depression, followed shortly by the disorganization of the Civil War. His labor, production, and attempted sales policies anticipated those policies which were later to put Southern manufacturing upon a sound basis, and which were conspicuously neglected by his contemporaries.

Gregg's treatment of his labor problem showed characteristic social vision. Slave labor offered many economic advantages: docility, longer working life (for slaves could be set to work younger than whites), complete reduction of turn-over. Yet if manufacturers were to rejuvenate the economic life of the South, Gregg insisted that they ought to begin by rehabilitating a class of the Southern population whom slavery had crowded out and degraded: the "poor whites" of the pine barrens and uplands. It was these people whom Graniteville housed in neat, decorative cottages—much admired at the time for their Gothic scroll-work—trained to regular employment, educated, formed into a sober, industrious and self-respecting community. Gregg set about his mission of salvaging his hill folk with moral fervor and strictness, not unmixed with more winning qualities. Cotton-mill corporations have continued his program with less disinterested, less personal, and, therefore, less engaging zeal. The dispute rages over what has been accomplished. According to Mr. Mitchell, "it is impossible for a ruling society to turn its back on the mass of the people for long years, without the recovery of the neglected being painful." But he thinks "the poor whites have learned a new standard of living, and in a spiritual as well as an economic sense, are catching up with our times."

Gregg and Graniteville must not be considered as isolated, premature phenomena. Rather, they were the most powerful forces in a current which set in after 1830, running counter to the prevailing drift of the cotton kingdom. Periodically as the price of cotton slumped, hitting especially the worn-out soils of the old South, voices were raised against the single-crop system, against a purely agri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cultural economy, depending for its simplest manufactures upon the North. Why not bring the mills to the cotton, making use of Southern water-power? Why not reap the profits of manufacturing at home, and save payment to outsiders for turning local cotton into cloth for Southern consumption? In reply to this discussion, launched so long ago and so familiar today, numerous cotton factories were founded between 1833 and 1851 in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. Gregg, however, was almost the only promoter who, by travel in New England, took the trouble to inform himself about the art of managing a cotton factory; consequently he was the only Southern manufacturer to show a continuous profit over a long and chequered period. His achievement constitutes the high-water mark of the movement.

Those readers of biography who wish a change from viewing the history-book giants through the small end of an opera glass will enjoy, in spite of copious, and at times disproportionate detail, seeing an obscure character more justly shown through a magnifying lens. While all of the material is interesting to close students of the South, of economic behavior, and of social institutions, one feels that the book would have gained in balance and finish by some retrenchment in detail and by a more elaborate setting of the subject in his period.

JEAN ATHERTON FLEXNER.

No Masterpieces

Trenck, by Bruno Frank. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Tricks of Women, and Other Albanian Tales. Translated by Paul Fenimore Cooper. New York: William Morrow and Company. $4.

Theresa, by Arthur Schnitzler. Translated by William A. Drake. New York: Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

The Devil's Shadow, by Frank Thiess. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THERE are some respectable names in this little list of European authors. It is partly with disappointment, partly with relief, that we must report—no masterpieces. With relief, because it is always reassuring to be shown that Anglo-Saxon authors have no monopoly on the second-rate.

"Trenck" is the story of a young Prussian nobleman in the service of Frederick the Great. For no reason except that he is a paragon, he is suddenly promoted by the monarch from the rank of cadet in the Guards to that of the King's Adjutant. But unfortunately for him, at the very moment of his promotion, the King's sister Amelia enters the room—the Princess and the soldier: tableau! Frederick pretends not to notice; but when his sister finally refuses to further his political schemes by marrying, and Trenck is caught neglecting his job because he has been out late with the Princess, the King begins a cold and adequate vengeance. Amelia is made a Lady Abbess; Trenck is confined in the fortress of Glatz. He escapes, is captured again, and is mewed up—this time almost buried alive—in the dungeon of Magdeburg. After nine years of this imprisonment, his chains are struck off, and he is allowed to go into exile. At Frederick's death, he hastens to Berlin to see Amelia. They have not met in forty years: he is an old man, and she is almost blind. This is one of the few scenes in the story which really moves us. After their pathetic reëncounter, Trenck goes to Paris, and dies in the midst of the Terror. Trenck and Frederick overshadow each other by turns, but neither is allowed to be more than a wooden actor. Voltaire, of course, makes his entrance, and walks down a garden path, talking like the historical figure he is. There is plenty of adventure in this tale, but little humanity.

"Tricks of Women" is a collection of Albanian folk-tales, fables without morals. They are quite able to stand by themselves, and need no explanation, but for some business reason have been supplied with an introduction by the motley Mr. Rascoe. One of the stories, "Mary of the Ashes," is the Albanian version of "Cinderella," and in some of the others we come upon echoes of old favorites. They are more violent and less expurgated than the fairy tales most of us were brought up on, and are told in the barest language, which yet has an effect of ironic, sometimes savage humor. Though the book is much smaller than the "Panchatantra," it is as entertaining, and in the same way; and it has none of the "Panchatantra's" wearisome involution and doggerel moralizing. "Tricks of Women" is handsomely printed, and illustrated with woodcuts by Ilse Bischoff.

"Theresa" is announced by the publishers as Schnitzler's "first full-length novel in twenty years." The book is only 460 pages long, but it seems longer. Theresa is just sixteen years old on the first page, and if you pay superhuman attention to the chronology of her life, you may discover how old she was when she died. This account of her life is not complicated; day follows day. She is the only daughter of a retired colonel, who soon goes crazy, and an eccentric mother of doubtful morals, whose only real interest is in her writing of cheap romances for the newspapers. Theresa is neglected by her parents, has few advantages, and is easily seduced by her first bold admirer. She tires of him finally, and of the life in Salzburg, and goes to Vienna, where she starts her long life-work as a governess. Here again it would require more painstaking attention than most readers will give, to keep track of all the situations in which Theresa did or did not give satisfaction: they must number about sixty. She has further adventures with men, and bears a son, who, after an exemplary infancy, becomes a difficult adolescent, and finally a criminal youth. He blackmails his own mother, and finally, while he is trying to rob her, injures her so severely that she dies. The book is realistic to a degree—that is, it is a model case-report on a governess *qua* sociological phenomenon. As we cannot believe that Herr Schnitzler has actually been a governess himself, we must at least grant that he is an extraordinarily careful investigator.

Herr Thiess is engaged in writing a tetralogy, which, when completed, is to give us a picture of the post-war generation in Germany. The first volume to be translated (which is the second in the series) was "The Gateway to Life." In "The Devil's Shadow" he shows us some of the same characters. But their adolescence was more promising than their youth. The scene has now shifted from the quiet school-town of Annenstedt to the noise and tinsel of Berlin, the squalor of Hamburg. The hero (we shall soon have to be giving up that word: it is becoming necessary to use it so often in an ironic sense) is Casper Müller, not an attractive youth, though he makes numerous conquests among women. He has no convictions, except that the world owes him everything, and no ambition, except to attain money and prestige. He tries successively college, the stage, journalism, blackmail, professional cuckoldry, acting as figure-head of a shady business house; and we finally take leave of him as he starts for America with a dozen women under his charge—the confidential agent of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The People's Institute of New York

Thirty-First Season opens at COOPER UNION, 8th Street and Astor Place—8 o'clock

Friday, November 9th

With the first lecture in a year's course

A HISTORY OF LIBERTY

by EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

Lectures in ETHICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

On Sunday evenings, starts November 11th with

A concert by the AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY

AMERICAN INSTITUTE SCIENCE LECTURES

On Tuesday evenings, opening lecture

Nov. 13: OUR EARTH AND NEIGHBOR WORLDS by

Dr. Clyde Fisher, American Museum of Natural History

All lectures at Cooper Union at 8 o'clock—Admission Free

THE SCHOOL OF THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

Opens at the MUHLENBERG BRANCH LIBRARY, Monday, November 12, 209 West 23rd Street

Mondays—Eleven Humorists by **Mark Van Doren**

Wednesdays—The Spectroscope, a Key to the Universe by **Norman Hilberry**

Thursdays—Three Philosophical and Scientific World Views by **E. G. Spaulding**

Saturdays—Enigmas of Religion by **E. Boyd Barrett**

All Lectures at 8:30

READER'S ROUND TABLE

I.—NEW ANGLES OF VISION, by M. Cecil Allen at Fordham Branch Library, 2556 Bainbridge Road Monday evenings at 8—Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 3, 10, 17

II.—CLASSIC AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT, led by Dr. Richard McKeon at Muhlenberg Branch Library, 209 West 23rd Street, Thursday evenings at 8—Twenty classes starting November 8th

III.—RENAISSANCE AND MODERN THOUGHT, led by Dr. John Storck at Muhlenberg Branch Library, 209 West 23rd Street, Tuesday evenings at 8—Twenty classes starting November 13th

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

70 Fifth Avenue **Algonquin 8717**

a gigantic "love-company." Some of his old schoolmates enter the story from time to time, but they are not in the main stream; he has been caught away on a sinister current. And our interest centers less on the picaresque story of Casper himself than on the glimpses we get of an almost diabolical scene behind the scenes—in which the actors are too vicious and too powerful to be quite human. The book is a crescendo of nightmare. Perhaps life is like that in Germany, for some young men. But there are others. Let us hope that Herr Thiess will tell us of them.

T. S. MATTHEWS.

The Lost Lyrist

The Lost Lyrist, by Elizabeth Hollister Frost. New York: Harper and Brothers. 96 pages. $2.

THIS volume is of uneven quality. Obvious sentiments obviously expressed—reminiscent of Sara Teasdale at her worst—are juxtaposed with cleanly phrased, finely chiseled lines; only occasionally is one poem exclusively of these last, as the sharp, poignant, telling "To His Friends":

> Miacomet, quench your blue!
> Terns, cease your wild, wild crying,
> He will not come, he does not hear,
> For he lies dying, dying.

There is another, "Midnight," which because grief is unsaid speaks it most strikingly.

> *Put out the hall light,*
> *Darling—and the door.*
> —A little draft replied
> Across the floor.
> *—And rake the fire*
> *That I forgot, a little,*
> —Iced bittersweet
> Against the casement
> Answered, brittle.

Unmistakable genuineness marks these poems, good or bad. The bad have not, at least, the fault of pretension; they are honest, if banal. The good, though they are of less frequency, show not only sorrow, compelled to utterance, but one shaped with fine economy, subtly over- and undertoned, into verse which approaches perfection.

ELLING AANNESTAD.

Fiction Notes

The Lady of Stainless Raiment, by Mathilde Eiker. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

IF the creation of authentic and convincing characters is the test of a good novelist, Miss Eiker has proved herself one. In "The Lady of Stainless Raiment" she has drawn upon the old Southern aristocracy for her material. The family in its three generations gives off various symptoms of its decay, but the main savor is the frantic struggle for the maintenance of its identity. The grandmother, Mrs. Chappelle, Claudia, the title character, and Katharine, her cousin, make as varied a "gallery of women" as one could choose. In spite of its spread over motley groups of people and geographical areas, the story is closely knit and unerringly relevant. It is written with beauty

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and distinction and colored throughout with the delicate irony shown in Miss Eiker's earlier books.

M. E. U.

Fire of Spring, by Dorothy Coursen. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

IN "Fire of Spring" Miss Coursen has written a novel about early adolescence, which state of development is not confined to the two children about whom the story is told, but extends to all other people of whatever age mentioned in the book. The novel is written in the "stream of consciousness" manner, and one is admitted most frequently into the mind of Alma, thirteen. The analysis is excellent. The affectations and illusions of the various people are set down without any attempt at outside explanation. The result is a sincere and truthful piece of work.

M. E. U.

Brother and Brother, by Dorothy Van Doren. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

ONE scents a bit of artifice in "Brother and Brother." Life is made too hard for Ellery Downing and too preposterously easy for his younger brother, John. Thwarted at home and driven into a distasteful business career, Ellery is unable to enjoy the riches which he acquires because he is saddled with a whining, incompetent and practically moronic wife. He therefore lavishes his money on John, determined that this cherished brother shall have the opportunities which he himself has missed. John gets all the breaks—an incredible number of them. He rapidly wins the artistic success which Ellery once coveted and, quite innocently of course, he marries the girl his brother loves. It all fits too neatly into a pattern. Dorothy Van Doren has a nice gift for characterization, her analysis of the relationship between the two brothers is delicate and good, but she reminds one of a cool, detached chess player, moving pawns across the board with exquisite skill.

E. H. W.

Money of Her Own, by Margaret Culkin Banning. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.

UNPRETENTIOUS and exhilarating. As a picture of the richer end of Main Street, "Money of Her Own" gaily, briskly penetrates farther into American life than more serious "studies." And what an appalling picture it is of drink, speed, clothes, excitement—and nothing!

R. H.

Contributors

FELIX FRANKFURTER is a member of the faculty at Harvard Law School and the author of several books on legal subjects.

HARRY M. CASSIDY is assistant professor of Economics at the University of North Carolina.

LÉONIE ADAMS is the author of a book of poems, "Those Not Elect."

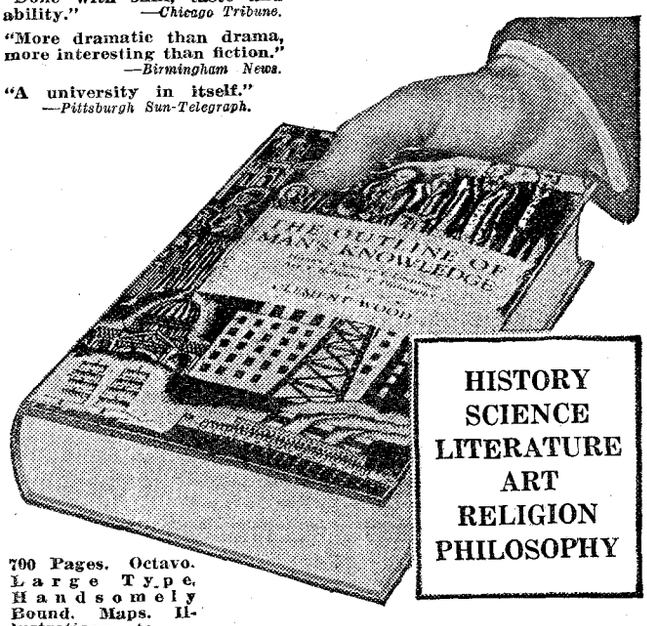
MALCOLM COWLEY, critic and poet, has translated several books from the French.

ETHEL HAHN is an instructor in the Art Department of the University of Chicago.

JEAN ATHERTON FLEXNER has been a tutor of economics at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers.

ELLING AANNESTAD is on the editorial staff of W. W. Norton and Company.

"Like viewing the universe from a hilltop."—*Toledo Times.*
"Done with skill, taste and ability." —*Chicago Tribune.*
"More dramatic than drama, more interesting than fiction." —*Birmingham News.*
"A university in itself." —*Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.*
"The ONE book to read and know."—*Philadelphia Public Ledger.*



HISTORY
SCIENCE
LITERATURE
ART
RELIGION
PHILOSOPHY

700 Pages. Octavo. Large Type. Handsomely Bound. Maps. Illustrations, etc.

A Background that will Broaden Any Mind

NOW you can have at your command what man has learned in the six greatest branches of human knowledge and culture. Six great romantic outlines, six comprehensive sections—compressed into one 700-page volume—will bring you the thrilling story of the world's HISTORY down to date—the stirring march and trends of RELIGION—the thought and wisdom of man's PHILOSOPHY—the intriguing beauty of the ARTS—the all embracing survey of every branch of SCIENCE—and a complete panorama of the world's LITERATURE from the first Neolithic scribblings to the work of modern authors of all nations.

A Liberal Education—in a Single Volume

THE OUTLINE OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE, by Clement Wood, is the ONE book, the only book, that gives you the fascinating story of what man has learned and accomplished from the world's birth in a flare of meteoric splendor up to the arrival of radio, aviation and television. Here is the whole story—all of it—Science, Art, Literature, History, Philosophy and Religion—in one large beautiful volume that you can actually BORROW for a week at our expense.

Send No Money—BORROW it at Our Expense

Clip and mail the convenient coupon, and it will bring you, prepaid, a copy of THE OUTLINE OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE, by Clement Wood. Examine it. See for yourself how fascinating is the story of knowledge. Read it freely for a week. See how much you have missed in the realms of things you OUGHT TO KNOW. If you are not completely satisfied, send the book back within seven days. Otherwise, keep it as your very own and remit the astoundingly low price of only $1.50 and two dollars a month for two months thereafter.

But don't decide now. See this all-absorbing work first. You can do that at our expense. Send no money. Just clip and mail the coupon. Do it before the present edition is exhausted. Fill in the coupon and put it in the mails at once. Do it now. LEWIS COPELAND COMPANY, Dept. 26, 119 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

TEAR OFF ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL TODAY

Lewis Copeland Company, Dept. 26,
119 West 57th St., New York City.

Kindly send me THE OUTLINE OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE, by Clement Wood, 700 pages, illustrated, handsomely bound Within 7 days I will either return the book or remit $1.50 as first payment and then $2.00 per month for two months, a total of $5.50.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....
($5.00 for complete payment within 7 days.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK
Park Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street
Announces a Course of Lectures
By
LEWIS GANNETT
ON
CURRENT EVENTS
An Interpretation of the Life of Our Times

WEDNESDAY EVENINGS AT 8:15

Nov. 14—"America: What is It?"
Dec. 12—"China: The Most Important Country in the World."
Jan. 9—"Russia: The Third Great Power."
Feb. 13—"Europe: Looking Backward."
Mar. 13—"Latin America: Colony or Culture?"
Apr. 10—Concluding Lecture.

Course Tickets (Five Lectures)..... $3.50
Single Admission at Door..... .75

For Information or Tickets Apply
Church Office, 12 Park Avenue

FOUR NINETEEN

Any book of any publisher by mail postpaid from the New Republic Bookstore New York City

WEST 21st STREET

JOIN THE POETRY CLAN, and receive the six outstanding new books of verse of the coming year—chosen, one every two months, by the editors of POETRY: A MAGAZINE OF VERSE, the only authoritative organ of the art. Send $12 to POETRY, 232 East Erie Street, Chicago, or write for particulars.

THEATRES

Theatre Guild Productions
FAUST
Guild Theatre
W. 52nd St., Evs. 8:30 Sharp
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

Eugene O'Neill's play
STRANGE INTERLUDE
John Golden Thea., W. 58th
EVES. ONLY, 5:30 SHARP
Dinner Intermission 7:40 to 9

Hamilton MacFadden & Kellogg Gary
present
Gods of the Lightning
By Maxwell Anderson & Harold Hickerson
Little Theatre, W. 44th St., Eves. 8:30, Mats., Wed. & Sat. 2:30

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP
A Clearing House of Opinion
meets at
Group Hall, 150 West 85th. St.
IVY L. LEE
(Author of "Present-Day Russia," etc.)
will speak on
PRESENT-DAY RUSSIA
Tuesday, October 30th, at 8:30 P. M.
Admission 50c. Organized 1918
Seymour A. Seligson, Director, 285 Madison Ave.

EDUCATIONAL

Mohegan Modern School
Peekskill, N. Y. (45 miles from N. Y. C.)

with all year around living house accommodations for children 6 to 12 years; beautiful country surroundings, competent supervision and instruction. We seek to imbue our children with the desire to become creative, useful and happy through work in the arts, crafts and the formal studies conducted along the lines of modern education. Apply to Dr. B. W. BARKAS, Director.

BOOKS

THAT BOOK YOU WANT!

We hold 1,250,000 of the best books New, Secondhand, Out-of-Print—on all subjects. Books on approval. Also Rare Books and Sets of Authors. Catalogues free (25 issued). Outline requirements and interests.

FOYLES,
121 Charing Cross Road,
London, England.

POSITION WANTED

Unusually trained, experienced, and successful with Teen Age Girl; group or individual. Free for part time work, New York. Young college woman. Chelsea 4074. Box 601, New Republic.

Research associate in social, economic or business problems available. Young man, gentile, former university instructor. Box 602, New Republic.

Wanted: Part-time work—editorial, advertising, publicity—by young married woman who has contributed to such periodicals as The Saturday Review, Harper's Magazine, The Atlantic, The New Republic. Fair typist, no shorthand. **Telephone Larchmont 953.**

SITUATION WANTED

Propaganda or welfare writer (woman), skilled in preparing materials for peace, relief and religious education, wants full-time job. Interested in foreign affairs. No shorthand but can take and give dictation on typewriter. M. A. Columbia. References. Majel, New Republic.

FOR RENT

Maison Pierre Mathieu, French Residential Abode. Comfortable and artistic rooms and suites, furnished. Suitable for two or three people. Home atmosphere, 309 West 100th St. Between West End Ave. and Riverside Drive, N. Y. City. Phone Riverside 0378.

APARTMENT FOR RENT

Apartment suitable for studio or doctor's office, two large rooms, 19 × 14, small room and bath. Apply 323 W. 22nd Street, or Phone Chelsea 7957. No brokers.

GENERAL

LENA ROSEN, Public Stenographer, 1440 Broadway, New York City
Tel., Pennsylvania 7130
Editorial, Manuscript, Technical Work, Mimeographing, Filling-in, Addressing. Intelligent Service. Reasonable Rates.

EARN $25 WEEKLY

Spare Time, writing for newspapers, magazines. Experience unnecessary. Copyright Book, "How to Write for Pay" Free. **Press Reporting Inst., 1060, St. Louis, Mo.**

THE BANKRUPTCY OF CHRISTIAN SUPERNATURALISM
By William Montgomery Brown

This book answers the twenty-three charges of heresy raised against Bishop Brown, which cover the whole field of doctrinal Christianity, and it justifies the startling words of the celebrated Dr. Crapsey: The Brown trial has shown the utter hopelessness and absurdity of creedal religion.

240 Pages, Paper Bound, 75c
BRADFORD-BROWN EDUCATIONAL CO.
GALION, OHIO

FOR NEXT WEEK AND EARLY ISSUES

Impressions of Soviet Russia
5 articles by John Dewey

The Education of Alfred Smith
by Eduard C. Lindeman

Review: The Childermass
by Lawrence Morris

Bootleggers
by T. S. Matthews

The New REPUBLIC
421 West 21st Street
New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED